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THOMAS FANSHAWE MIDDLETON, D.D.

Lord Bishop of Calcutta

London Published by C.J.G.&F.Rivington Jan.1831

THE

LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

THOMAS FANSHAW MIDDLETON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

BY

THE REV. CHARLES WEBBLE PAS, M.A.

PROFESSOR IN THE EAST INDIA COLLEGE, HERTFORDSHIRE,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON WATSON,

THE REV. H. H. NORRIS,

AND JOSHUA WATSON, ESQ.

THE CHOSEN AND DEVOTED FRIENDS OF

BISHOP MIDDLETON,

HIS ENLIGHTENED, ZEALOUS,

AND CONFIDENTIAL AUXILIARIES

IN EVERY DESIGN

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CAUSE

THROUGHOUT THE DIOCESE OF INDIA,

THE FOLLOWING ATTEMPT TO HONOUR HIS MEMORY

AND TO RECORD HIS LABOURS

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH SENTIMENTS OF DEEP VENERATION

AND CORDIAL REGARD,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In the year 1824, nearly two years after the death of Bishop Middleton, his Sermons and Charges were published by archdeacon Bonney, together with a biographical memoir of the Bishop himself. This faithful account was sufficiently copious to put the public in possession of the more prominent events in the Bishop's life. It was, however, subsequently thought, that a narrative, somewhat more diffuse than could conveniently be prefixed to an edition of his writings, might not be altogether unacceptable to the public. The sphere of the Bishop's

labours was unusually interesting and important. His episcopate was, in fact, identified with the first establishment of Protestant episcopacy in India; and the Christian world, it was supposed, would naturally be anxious for ample details respecting an event so pregnant with momentous consequences. It was, moreover, considered, that complete justice could not be done to the memory of that admirable prelate, without the fullest exposition of the views, motives, and principles, which regulated his exertions, in the accomplishment of that arduous and holy work. The compilation of a history which might, in some degree, answer these purposes, is the task which I have been adventurous enough to undertake!

In endeavouring to execute this task, it has been my object, wherever it was practicable, to step aside from the office of a narrator, and to let the Bishop speak, as much as might

be, for himself: and this, to a considerable extent, I have been enabled to do, by the kindness and confidence of his surviving friends. My chief acknowledgments are, on this account, due to archdeacon Watson, the Rev. H. H. Norris, and Mr. Joshua Watson;—to Mr. S. S. Ward, of the Accountant-general's office, the Bishop's familiar and confidential friend;—and to Dr. Barnes, who was archdeacon of Bombay during the whole of the Bishop's life in India. The indulgence of these gentlemen has given me access to an ample store of the Bishop's epistolary correspondence. With the former three of them, he kept up a constant intercourse to the last; and his communications to them are eminently valuable, since they embrace all the great questions, interests, and designs, which occupied his heart and mind, while labouring at the foundations of the Anglo-Indian Church. It is nothing more than bare

justice to add, that by their cordial sympathy and unwearied co-operation, his spirits were mainly supported under the multiplied difficulties incident to his new and almost overwhelming charge.

Of my obligations to archdeacon Barnes, it is scarcely in my power to speak worthily. It would very inadequately represent them to say, that his assistance has been most valuable. It is nearer to the truth to declare that, without it, I know not how the work I have undertaken could well have been brought to a completion. In conference with him I have enjoyed all the advantage which can be derived from communion with sound judgment,—consummate knowledge of the ecclesiastical affairs of India,—and a heart full of admiration for the great qualities of his lamented diocesan, and full of zeal for the blessed cause to which his life was consecrated.

I have, lastly, to acknowledge most

gratefully, and most respectfully, that I have met with every facility that could be desired, in the use of documents and letters, from the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India,—from Mr. Courtenay, their secretary in the Bishop's life-time,—from the Honourable Court of Directors,—and, also, from the Venerable Societies for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

East India College.
January, 1831.

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THE

LIFE

OF

BISHOP MIDDLETON.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Middleton's early Life and Education—Introduction to Dr. John Pretyman—Presented to the Rectory of Tansor, Northamptonshire—Marries—Treatise on the Doctrine of the Greek Article—Death of his younger pupil—Removes from Norwich to Tansor—Collated to a Prebend in Lincoln Cathedral—Acts as a Magistrate—Visitation Sermon at Grantham—Removes to St. Pancras, London—Collated to the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon—His attention to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Placed in a Committee for the Edition of the Family Bible—Charge to the Missionary Jacobi—His endeavours to procure a new church at St. Pancras—Their failure.

The subject of this memoir, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, was the only son of the Rev. Thomas Middleton, Rector of Kedleston, in Derbyshire, at which village he was born on the 26th of

CHAP. I. January, 1769. His early education he received at home from his parents, under whose care he
1769. remained until the completion of his tenth year.
1779. On the 21st of April, 1779, he was received into Christ's Hospital, where he is said to have been distinguished for thoughtful and steady habits, and for manners which, though firm, were mild and unassuming. His residence at this noble foundation appears to have been remembered by him in after life with delight and gratitude; and, that neither time nor distance could impair his attachment, was shewn by a donation of 400*l.* remitted from India several years after his appointment to the See of Calcutta. He lived to be a governor of the institution, but the notice of his election did not reach India till after his decease. It is pleasing, however, to know that the Hospital testified their respect for the Bishop's memory by suffering Mrs. Middleton to nominate a scholar (the child of a widowed Indian friend) on the strength of this election.

From this school he was removed to Pembroke College, Cambridge. It is almost needless to add, that his habits, at the University, were such as to lay the foundation of his future eminence as a scholar and a divine. In January,
1792. 1792, when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, his place was fourth among the senior optimes, the second rank of mathematical honours. In the following March he was ordained deacon

by Dr. Pretyman, then bishop of Lincoln, and commenced his course of professional duty by entering on the curacy of Gainsborough. That his leisure might not be without occupation, at once elegant and useful, he undertook the conduct of a small periodical work, entitled, "The Country Spectator." It would seem that either the demand for this species of intellectual refreshment was extremely languid in that vicinity, or that the other engagements of the editor became too pressing to enable him to satisfy it: for the publication was discontinued in the course of eight months; during which period thirty-three papers made their appearance, most of which were the composition of Mr. Middleton himself.

CHAP. I.

This literary enterprise, short-lived as it was, had one remarkable consequence: it was the means of his introduction to Dr. John Pretyman, Archdeacon and Precentor of Lincoln, and, through him, to his brother the Bishop of Lincoln. To Dr. Pretyman he was wholly unknown, until the latter, by accident, took up a number of the Country Spectator, with which he was so well pleased, that it induced him to enquire after the author, in the hope that he might find in him a fit person to undertake the domestic education of his sons. In this expectation he was not disappointed. Mr. Middleton accepted the charge, and, in consequence, removed first to Lincoln, and afterwards to Norwich, the usual residence

CHAP. I. of Dr. Pretyman, as a prebendary of that Cathedral. He was thus brought into the society of many persons distinguished by various attainments and literary habits; he had, moreover, ample opportunities of professional usefulness, and his energy as a preacher was deeply felt, and generally acknowledged.

1795. In 1795, he was presented by Dr. Pretyman to the rectory of Tansor in Northamptonshire; a provision which afforded him a competent independence, and placed within his reach the comforts of domestic life. In 1797 he married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of John Maddison, Esq. of Alvington, in the county of Lincoln. In the society of this lady he appears to have found all the happiness he could have anticipated. In her he had a companion admirably qualified to heighten the blessings of life, and to alleviate its burdens: whilst she was fully able to form a just estimate of his worth, and was at all times willing to render him every kind and obliging office by which the labours of a scholar can be relieved. With uniform cheerfulness, and unwearied care, she underwent the toil of transcribing every manuscript which he prepared for the press: a service which was so highly appreciated by him, that he has recorded his sense of it by an inscription on the blank leaf of the printed copy of his work on the Greek Article, which he presented to her on the completion of his thirty-ninth year.

In 1802 his patron added to the living of Tansor, the consolidated rectory of Little and Castle Bytham. He was, however, detained at Norwich some time longer by the care of his pupils, and by the anxiety of his friends and parishioners to keep him among them. He now commenced the work which has established his reputation as a critic and a divine, his treatise on "The Doctrine of the Greek Article, applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament." In this performance he has displayed a steadiness of application, a compass of research, and an acuteness of discernment, which have given him an honourable place among distinguished names in English literature and theology. CHAP. I. 1802.

It may here be advisable to advert briefly to the circumstances which possibly may have turned the thoughts of Mr. Middleton to this investigation. It is well known that, in 1798, Mr. Granville Sharpe published a pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the use of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament, containing many proofs of the Divinity of Christ from passages which are wrongly translated in the Common English Version." In 1802 appeared anonymously, "Six Letters to Granville Sharpe, Esq. respecting his Remarks;" the author of which is now known to be Dr. Wordsworth, then a resident fellow of Trinity College, of which he

CHAP. I. has since become the Master. This performance, though small in compass, displays the result of a most laborious, faithful, and extended examination of the Greek ecclesiastical writers, from the Apostolic age to the fourteenth century; and its object was to shew that the interpretation given by the Fathers to those passages, the translation of which Mr. Granville Sharpe had called in question, is uniformly correspondent to his theory; and that this interpretation was never murmured at, even by those very heresies which might be most closely pressed by it. A considerable collection of extracts is added from the Latin writers. These are introduced for a double purpose: First, to shew that the Latin translations of such passages of the New Testament exhibit precisely that sort of ambiguity which might be expected in a language destitute of the article: but that, secondly, in the translations of several compositions from the Latin into the Greek by contemporary writers, the property of the article, as contended for by Mr. Sharpe, is invariably observed. These *Six Letters* were followed by an answer, entitled "Six more Letters to Granville Sharpe, Esq. on his Remarks, &c.;" under the fictitious name of "Gregory Blunt, Esq." and again, in 1805, by "A Vindication of certain Passages in the Common English Version of the New Testament, addressed to Granville Sharpe, Esq. by the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, A.M." The

former of these performances was evidently the work of a writer of the Unitarian school, and had little claim to the public attention on the score either of learning, argument, or propriety. The pamphlet of Mr. Winstanley was much more respectable. It was conceded by Dr. Wordsworth himself, that Mr. Winstanley had effected more than any other writer who had appeared against Mr. Granville Sharpe's theory, but not that he had in the slightest degree affected its truth or stability[1]. Such was the state of this controversy, when the work of Mr. Middleton appeared. But though the agitation of these questions, in all probability, first called his attention to the subject, he does not seem to have written with any immediate view to the dispute between the parties who had been recently

CHAP. I.

[1] Pref. to Eccl. Biogr. p. xxv. ed. 1810. It may be proper to notice here, that to all his subsequent publications, Dr. Wordsworth has prefixed an advertisement relative to this question, in which he declares his readiness "to retract publicly the substance of his Six Letters, so soon as he shall be convinced, either by his own researches, or those of others, that he has advanced a false and untenable argument." And in his last work (that on the authorship of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, 1824,) he proclaims that nothing has occurred to induce him to abandon his argument, or to alter his opinion of its importance; and that the additional authorities, which have since fallen in his way, from the writings of the Fathers, are not contradictory to, but in perfect harmony with, the testimonies produced in his Six Letters.

CHAP. I. engaged. He considers the enquiry as signally important in its connection not only with theology, but with the philosophy of grammar; and his plan, accordingly, consists of two parts; of which the first is employed in attempting to resolve the question, *What is the Greek Article?* and to shew that the solution offered will explain its principal uses in the Greek writers. The second part exhibits the application of the preceding doctrine to the Greek text of the New Testament. Of the success with which Mr. Middleton applied himself to this investigation, it is impossible to speak otherwise than generally and briefly in this Memoir. That his work was highly estimated, is clear from the attention it commanded at the time of its publication, and from the anxiety with which a new edition was called for several years ago. Whether he has completely succeeded in establishing that doctrine, is a point which, to this day, divides the opinions of the literary world. The present learned occupier of the Greek chair at Cambridge[2], is unable to "persuade himself that any competent judge can read it through, without a thorough conviction of the soundness of its general principle, though some difference of opinion may be found to exist on some of its minute ramifications, as

[2] Professor Scholefield, Preface to second edition of Bishop Middleton's Book, p. v.

well as on some applications of it, in detail, in the second part of the volume." His great predecessor, Porson, is said to have spoken of the work in terms of commendation; but it is not known that he ever expressed a clear and decided opinion as to the merits of its doctrine, or the safety of its application to the purpose of illustrating the New Testament [3].

In the estimation of some critics, indeed, there is one serious objection to the positions of Mr. Middleton, with reference to the sacred writings; namely, that the language of those writings can hardly be called Greek. The words, indeed, are Greek, but the phraseology and idiom are frequently Asiatic. It is accordingly contended, that even if the rules which Mr. Middleton and Mr. Sharpe sought to establish, were found to prevail with perfect uniformity among the classic writers, it would still be unsafe to derive any momentous conclusion from the practice of authors, who were probably ignorant of the grammatical niceties of the language they were em-

[3] The opinion of Porson respecting Dr. Wordsworth's Six Letters, may be collected from his own words, as reported by the author: "As for your volume, I have read it. It is a book that ought to have been written, and I am glad it is written." But on no occasion did the Professor, in Dr. Wordsworth's presence, express any opinion respecting the grammatical theory of Granville Sharpe.—Advertisement to Dr. Wordsworth's book on the writer of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. 1824.

CHAP. I. ploying. With regard to this objection, it may be doubted whether, on a close inspection, it will retain the formidable appearance which it presents at first. In every language there are grammatical niceties, respecting which they who are in the habitual observance of them, are theoretically and critically ignorant. The usages of a living language are seldom acquired by a systematic or scientific process. They are gradually and almost imperceptibly imbibed; and where that language has been used from an early period of life, its most familiar peculiarities will naturally present themselves to the speaker without study or premeditation. It will hardly be contended, for instance, that the most impure Hellenistic writer is not generally true to the grammatical inflexion of nouns or verbs: and if so, it is by no means perfectly obvious that his use of the article would necessarily be different from that which prevailed, either in discourse, or composition, among those to whom the language was native. At all events, it seems scarcely reasonable to make the critical ignorance of the sacred writers a conclusive ground for discarding the application of the doctrine to the Scriptures of the New Testament, unless it can be clearly shewn that those writers were more lax in their use of the prepositive article than authors of the most unquestioned authority.

Whatever may be the doubts which still hang

over the question, it must be allowed that the whole argument of Mr. Middleton and of Mr. Sharpe, is important enough to deserve a searching and dispassionate examination. Such an examination it has not yet received. It is hoped, however, that this justice will not long be withheld. The first edition of Mr. Middleton's work appeared in 1808. The second edition, published in 1828 by Professor Scholefield, seemed to furnish a fair opportunity for a complete discussion of the theory, as a labour remarkably appropriate to the Greek chair of Cambridge. That this good office has not been rendered, in that quarter, to the cause of sacred criticism, is probably to be ascribed to the circumstance, that Mr. Middleton's work had long been out of print, and that a new edition was called for with an impatience which hardly admitted of the delay required for a review of the question. This cause, however, now no longer exists. The interval between the publication of this edition and the appearance of the next, must furnish ample leisure for a full consideration of the argument; or at least for such an exhibition of the evidence as may enable every reader to fix his own value on the rule. In the mean time,—(even though it should be granted that the speculations of Mr. Middleton may have sometimes been carried to a degree of refinement, which perhaps the most perfect language will scarcely bear,)—it will hardly be denied that his

CHAP. I.

1808.

CHAP. I. 1808. labours have been eminently conducive to the critical study of the Greek Testament, and that his arguments, if not absolutely demonstrative, have, at least, been potently auxiliary to the establishment of a fundamental article of our faith.

Some time previous to the completion of this work, Mr. Middleton had the affliction to lose the younger of his pupils, Henry George Pretyman, whose engaging temper had won his attachment, and whose opening talents promised to reflect high honour on the labour and judgment of his instructor. In the dedication of his volume to Dr. Pretyman, the author affectionately commemorates the virtues and endowments of this lamented youth, and naturally deplores the unhappy dissolution of a most interesting connection, which had continued for upwards of thirteen years. It is a pleasing evidence of the warmth of Mr. Middleton's affections, that there were some few common articles of furniture in his possession, of little intrinsic worth, and of less external elegance, which he would on no account part with, because they had formerly been used by his favourite pupil. When he left Norwich, they were carefully packed up, and sent into Northamptonshire, and in all probability accompanied him to India.

The removal of his elder pupil to Cambridge, and the loss of the younger by death, now left

Mr. Middleton without any impediment to the discharge of his obligation as a parochial minister. His friends, indeed, were still anxious to retain him in their society at Norwich, and with this view, offered to procure him preferment in that city. This proposal, however, he firmly declined, but not without some natural and pardonable regrets, if we may judge from the language in which he adverts to his intended removal in the conclusion of his Dedication to his patron: "I am shortly," he there observes, "to withdraw from polished and literary society, from friendships endeared to me by similarity of pursuits, and by uninterrupted habits of kindness and confidence, to exercise the obscure but important function of a Village Pastor. I am to seek other companions, to form new connections, to engage in fresh prospects." In conformity with these views and resolutions, he quitted Norwich in 1808, and fixed his residence at Oundle, two miles from Tansor, until his rectorial house should be fit for his reception. In the same year he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and preached the commencement sermon before the University of Cambridge. In the spring of the year following he removed to Tansor, and soon secured the attachment and esteem of his parishioners, by his benevolence and hospitality, by a faithful discharge of his ministerial duties, and by a careful accommo-

CHAP. I. 1808.

CHAP. I. dation of his instructions to the habits and capacity of a humble and rustic audience.

1809. In 1809, he was collated to a prebendal stall in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln; and, some time after, he added to his other dutiesth at of a magistrate for the county of Northampton. This is a combination of offices which, on the first examination, it is difficult to contemplate with much satisfaction. Nothing, it is true, can well be more discordant than the two functions of the secular judge and the spiritual guide and comforter. The relation between the magistrate and the criminal seems so essentially at variance with the relation between the minister of religion and the people committed to his charge, that, at first, it is not easy to imagine how the one character can be sustained without impediment to the efficacy and usefulness of the other. On the other hand, however, it must be remembered, that there are many important duties connected with the office of a magistrate, which imply an intercourse of kindness between himself and the poor—which place him in the condition of their friend and protector—which enable him frequently to stand between their helpless necessities and the hardness of vulgar authority, more especially in the administration of the poor laws—and which consequently can by none be more beneficially and fitly discharged

than by their spiritual guardian and monitor. CHAP. I.
It ought, further, to be recollected, that this union of characters is often dictated by an almost irresistible necessity. In the absence of the landed gentry, for instance, a large tract of country may sometimes be left, for a considerable portion of the year, wholly destitute of laymen of sufficient respectability and intelligence to act as conservators of the peace: and in such cases, if the clergy were to decline the service, the civilization and good order of a whole district might be seriously endangered. It was probably by considerations of this nature, that Dr. Middleton was induced to accept a place in the commission; and to charge himself with duties, many of which were by no means in harmony with his general habits and pursuits. Such, however, was his distrust of his own legal knowledge, and such his conscientious and intense anxiety to administer the law rightfully and impartially, that, at last, his feelings became injurious to his peace of mind, and compelled him, after the trial of one twelvemonth, to seek relief from these responsibilities by retiring from the commission.

In June 1809, Dr. Middleton was appointed to preach at the triennial visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln. His sermon was delivered at Grantham, and was afterwards printed at the request of the Clergy. He entitled it, "*Christ*

CHAP. I. 1810. *Divided*," conformably to its text from 1 Cor. i. 13. The subject of his discourse, as that title imports, was the unhappy extent and variety of religious division in this country. In lamenting the price which we are thus compelled to pay for the blessings of religious liberty, the preacher is naturally led to a consideration of the true principles of Christian unity on earth, his exposition of which is luminous, charitable, and temperate, and exhibits an acquaintance with the history of the Church, which signally justified the choice of his diocesan in appointing him to the pulpit on that occasion.

At this period of his life he appears to have been blessed with all the means of serene and unruffled enjoyment. He was high in estimation as a scholar and a divine; he was in possession of domestic comfort and happiness; and his time must have been agreeably diversified by his parochial duties, and the prosecution of his literary and theological studies. Enviable, however, as his condition will probably appear to the generality of readers, it will surprise none who were acquainted with his fervid energy of character, to find him ready to quit his retirement for a sphere of higher excitement, and more extended usefulness. After he had been for some time settled in Northamptonshire, the headmastership of the Norwich grammar-school became vacant. This situation appeared to offer

him an occupation suited to the vigour and activity of his mind, together with the resumption of those intimacies which had rendered his former residence at Norwich so delightful. These advantages tempted him to entertain serious intentions of presenting himself for the vacant post. He accordingly came from Northamptonshire for the purpose of making enquiries respecting it, and was so well satisfied with the result, that nothing but a delicate sense of honour and independence prevented him from soliciting what, beyond all question, he might easily have obtained. It is impossible to regret the failure of this speculation, since its success might, perhaps, have prevented his removal to the vicinity of London, which took place in 1811, in consequence of an exchange of the livings of Tansor and Bytham, for the vicarage of St. Pancras, Middlesex, and the rectory of Puttenham in Hertfordshire. As soon as this exchange was effected, he commenced his residence at the vicarage house, in Kentish Town. In 1812, he was collated by the Bishop of Lincoln to the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon; and in the same year delivered his primary charge to the clergy of that archdeaconry. In this address, he pointedly adverts to certain controverted subjects, which then excited a very lively interest, —namely, the principles of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the establishment of

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Lancasterian schools. His object in so doing was to explain and enforce the genuine principles of churchmanship,—to state the causes which have unhappily led to their decay,—and to inculcate upon the clergy the duties more immediately incumbent upon them, in times which he conceived to be imminently dangerous to our religious institutions.

Archdeacon Middleton was now transferred to a sphere of exertion commensurate with his powers, and suited to his large and comprehensive views. In one scene of usefulness he appeared to feel peculiar delight, the meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; which had recently received a glorious accession of strength and activity, and which (in the charge to which we have just adverted,) he describes as "the rallying point of those who would preserve our constitution in Church and State;" and whose deliberations he very justly considers "as the most important to the maintenance of the true principles of our Establishment, of any which have been holden since convocations fell into disuse[4]." His attendance at the meetings of this Society was punctual, and his activity in promoting its objects, ardent and unremitting. The same may be said of other Societies in immediate connection with the Church, all of

[4] Charge to the Clergy of Huntingdon, Bonney, p. 161.

which were objects of his zealous and vigilant re- CHAP. I.
gard. It will be readily perceived that the intimate 1812.
knowledge which he was thus enabled to gain of the designs, resources, and operations of all such Societies, formed an admirable preparation for his future exertions in the cause of Christianity in India; and it cannot be doubted, that the acuteness, the judgment, and the habits of business, which he brought with him to their meetings, contributed most powerfully to the efficacy of those institutions. By these interesting occupations he was brought into frequent and gratifying intercourse with many distinguished scholars and divines, and had an opportunity of forming friendships which were the pride and solace of his life. It was thus that he became intimately known to Mr. Joshua Watson; to the Archdeacons Pott, Cambridge, and Watson; to Dr. Van Mildert, (the present Bishop of Durham); to Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester and Master of the Temple; to the Rev. H. H. Norris of Hackney; and to many other individuals, eminent in the Church, and venerable for their devotion to the cause of benevolence and piety.

To his other important engagements was added, about this time, the editorship of the British Critic, of which a new series was then projected, and the interest in which was purchased for the express purpose that it might be placed under his direction. At nearly the same

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period, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was engaged in the preparation of an edition of the Bible, which was to be published under their direct sanction, and to be accompanied with a selection of notes from the most eminent writers of the Church of England. The choice and arrangement of these notes were committed more immediately to Mr. D'Oyly and Dr. Mant, then domestic chaplains to the Archbishop of Canterbury; subject, however, to the judgment of a sub-committee of revision. Among the members of this sub-committee were Dr. Middleton, Dr. Van Mildert, and the Archdeacon of London, Mr. Pott; on whose learning, moderation, and judgment, the Society placed the firmest reliance. And that no attainable security might be wanting to the public, the revised portions of the proposed edition were, finally, submitted to the inspection of Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, and Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, previous to the publication of the work.

The talents and erudition of Archdeacon Middleton, thus actively employed in the interests of the Society; naturally pointed him out as a person eminently qualified to deliver a charge, on their behalf, to Christophilus Augustinus Jacobi, ordained a presbyter by the Bishop of Zealand, and now engaged to proceed as missionary to the congregations of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the southern

parts of India. This office was executed by him with deep feeling and admirable judgment; and the charge he had prepared was most impressively delivered, at a very numerous meeting of the Society, on the 23d of March, 1813. It is, perhaps, scarcely possible to imagine a spectacle of more solemn interest than that of a young man, in the very flower of his days, prepared to brave the perils of an untried climate, and to count neither country, kindred, nor life, dear unto him, so that he might finish his course with joy, in testifying among the heathen the Gospel of the grace of God. Little anticipating, at the moment, that he should, himself, soon be obedient to the call which summoned him to an overwhelming field of labour, in the same country, Archdeacon Middleton commenced his address, by reminding the missionary of the multiplied discouragements and difficulties which would task his holy resolution; and against which it became him, in the strength of God, to prepare and fortify himself. Having discharged this part of his duty, he proceeds to display the more animating portion of the prospect. He calls the attention of the missionary to the pious labours of Schwartz and Gerickè, with those of Ziegenbalg and Grundler, in whose congregations Mr. Jacobi was now to be placed; and whose memory is, to this day, cherished with affectionate veneration in the south of

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India. "It is, however," (continues Archdeacon Middleton), "from the labours of ordained converts that we expect the most favourable results;" and "it is admitted, I think, by all who have preceded you, that your hopes of making genuine converts must rest, in great measure, upon the instruction and education of youth." Having added some valuable suggestions respecting the personal conduct and studies of the missionary, he urges him to be less solicitous for a multitude of unstable or pretended proselytes, than for solid proofs of firmness and sincerity in those who may profess the faith of Christ. "Finally," he says, "under the guidance of the Blessed Spirit, you must rely for your success on those Christian graces which are the proper fruits of the Spirit. They must live in your life, and breathe in all your actions. Humility, patience, kindness, devotion, charity, and peace, are the virtues of a Christian Apostle. By these you will adorn and recommend the doctrine of God our Saviour."

But of all the cares and designs of Archdeacon Middleton there was not any which, at this period, so powerfully absorbed his time and faculties, as the project of obtaining a new church for the parish of St. Pancras. He found himself in his new cure the spiritual guardian of nearly 50,000 persons; and yet almost entirely disabled from becoming known to them

through the ministrations of public worship. The church was an ancient and confined edifice, capable of accommodating about 200 persons, and fitted only for the population of Pancras, when it was a small village on the outskirts of London. At Kentish Town, was an ancient chapel of ease, which might contain nearly the same number. The relation between the pastor and his flock was thus in danger of being utterly lost; and the mass of the parishioners were well nigh cut off from all communion with the Church, except through the very questionable medium of a few proprietary chapels. To a man of Dr. Middleton's principles and temperament, this was a state of things too afflicting to be endured without a vigorous effort for its remedy. Accordingly, soon after his accession to the vicarage, he began to concert measures for the accomplishment of this object; and it was his intention, when once the proposal for erecting a church was sufficiently promulgated, without delay to address his people on this important subject from the various pulpits within his parish. He justly regarded the topic as worthy of the most solemn appeal to their reason and their feelings. Unhappily, however, the original resolutions of the meeting were scarcely published, when the whole merits of the question were nearly overborne by the popular, but very mischievous remark, that the

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plan had little else in view but the aggrandisement of the vicar! The turn thus given to the question, as well as the animosity excited by various other causes, rendered it wholly unfit for discussion in a Christian assembly from the pulpit. Dr. Middleton, therefore, immediately prepared and circulated an address, in which, with admirable temper, and with earnestness becoming a Christian pastor, he laboured to impress on the hearts of his parishioners a sense of the enormous evil to be apprehended from a virtual exclusion of vast numbers, and especially the poor, from the benefits of public religious instruction; and to awaken them to the solemn obligation of providing the remedy. "The condition of this parish," he observes, "is capable of almost incalculable improvement; and the foundation of that improvement must be laid, if any where, in the Act for building a PARISH CHURCH. This will make you members of a new community. It will excite a feeling for the common good. The rising generation will be early trained to habits of piety. The rich and the poor will assemble together before the Universal Parent. You will acquire an interest in the honour and dignity of your parish. Parochial charities will start into existence; and the tablets, which shall record your virtues, preserved to your descendants in the sanctuary of the Most High, will teach them lessons of piety

and virtue through the force of hereditary example [5]." CHAP. I. 1813.

After some delay, a bill was prepared, and introduced into Parliament, for the purpose of raising money for the construction of a spacious church, not so monstrously inadequate as the ancient edifice to the wants of this immense population. With what passionate and honest zeal Dr. Middleton laboured to secure the success of this measure, is well known to all who, at this period, had the happiness of his acquaintance. It would be painful and needless to relate in detail the mortifying history of its failure. It is sufficient to say that, although it had the cordial support of many of the most honourable and respected names in the parish, an opposition was raised against it in some quarters, which, for the time, was unhappily fatal. The defeat, however, was, after all, but temporary. The exertions of Archdeacon Middleton had made the minds of people familiar with the object. His attempt had levelled many formidable obstructions, and, in a great degree, had cleared the ground for future operations. It is but just to observe, that his successor, Dr. Moore, the present vicar, availed himself

[5] This address is printed in the collection of Bishop Middleton's Sermons and Charges, edited by Archdeacon Bonney, pp. 293—311.

CHAP. I. 1813. zealously of these favourable circumstances; and it is well known that his address and perseverance have been rewarded by the construction of that noble edifice, the New Church of St. Pancras, which is now among the most splendid ornaments of the metropolis. It is, further, gratifying to record that, since that time, three additional chapels have been raised by the exertions of the parish and the Commissioners for building Churches.

CHAPTER II.

Renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813—*Responsibility of a Christian Government for the spiritual interests of their foreign settlements—Remark of Dr. Prideaux in* 1694—*Resolution of the House of Commons in* 1793—*Attention of Parliament in* 1813 *to the promotion of Christianity in Hindostan—Memorial of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Opposition in England to the extension of Ecclesiastical Government in India—Resolutions of the House of Commons—Intercourse of Missionaries with India—Powerful Speech of Mr. Wilberforce—Provision for Episcopacy.*

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We are now arrived at that period in the life of Dr. Middleton, which exhibits him in a character beyond all comparison more interesting and more important than any which he had hitherto sustained; we are henceforth to regard him, not merely as a dignified ecclesiastic—not merely as one among the numerous shepherds and bishops of the flock of Christ; but, still more, as the father and the founder of the Protestant Episcopal Church of our Asiatic empire; the first, we would willingly hope, of a long line of illustrious and venerable prelates.

CHAP. II. 1813. In the year 1814, the charter of the East India Company was renewed by Parliament. The discussions, in 1813, which preceded this grant, gave an opportunity for the expression of the public sentiment respecting the moral and spiritual responsibilities of this country towards her vast Asiatic dependencies. The spiritual wants of our own countrymen, separate from their brethren and their native land, were alone sufficient to stir the heart of every one in these realms, who was not content with the mere name of Christian. And then, it could not be forgotten, that these, our Christian countrymen, were living in the midst of benighted millions, the subjects of the British empire, and to whom, therefore, the British empire was debtor, to the extent of a mighty and solemn obligation; an obligation which exacted a liberal devotion both of energy and of wealth to the cause of Christianity, in the midst of heathenism and superstition. By none of those Christian settlers who preceded us in India do these responsibilities appear to have been wholly forgotten. The Portuguese, the Hollander, the Dane, all seem to have remembered that their acquisitions in the East brought with them the imperative duty of honouring the name of their God and their Redeemer, in the sight of the pagan and the idolater. Nay,—not only the Papal churches, and the Protestant missionary estab-

lishments, but the very mosques and minarets of Hindostan, seemed to condemn, in language of burning rebuke, that religious apathy, which would allow to every earthly interest an overbearing precedence above that *one needful thing* which ought, most righteously, to take the lead in every human enterprise. It may, indeed, be thought that the peculiar circumstances under which our gigantic dominion has grown up in India, have been, on the whole, singularly adverse to the formation of permanent religious establishments in that country. The lapse of a century and a half has witnessed the gradual expansion of a few insignificant commercial factories into an enormous empire: so little was this consummation originally anticipated or desired, that the progress towards it has often been attended with the voice of loud and urgent deprecation at home; and now that the fabric is reared, we feel astounded and almost overwhelmed by the weight of our glory, and the extent of our imperial responsibility. Every step, too, of this wondrous and mighty change has, unavoidably, been attended with conflicts, which have called forth the worst passions and most ruthless energies of our nature: and these circumstances, together with an appalling sense of insecurity, long combined to "turn awry" the current of peaceful and holy enterprises. When conquest seizes at once upon a foreign territory

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with a strong hand and an uplifted arm, the beneficent genius of civilization and improvement may naturally follow in her train. But when, to their own astonishment, and even dismay, merchants are actually growing into princes, it is not very wonderful if, during the transition, their designs should be conceived and executed rather in the spirit of adventure, than of paternal and enlightened sovereignty. And these considerations may in part, perhaps, account for the inadequate support and honour which, for a long period, the Christian cause received from the Indo-British government.

It is not, however, to be imagined that the government at home have been uniformly unmindful of the religious obligations connected with the possession of power and influence in Hindostan. As far back as the reign of William III., an act of the Legislature [6] enjoined the Company "constantly to maintain in every garrison and superior factory one minister, and to provide there also one decent and convenient place for divine service only." And, further, it appointed, that "such ministers as should be sent to reside in India, should apply themselves to learn the native language of the country, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, who should be servants of the Company, or their

[6] Charter of the East India Company, 1698.

agents, in the Protestant religion." It was also provided that these ministers should be approved by the Bishop of London, and consequently, should be of the Established Church. These enactments are the more remarkable and important for being passed at a time when the relations of the Company with India were almost exclusively commercial, and their establishments little more than trading factories; thus practically recognising the principle which extends the responsibility of Christian governments to the spiritual interests, not only of their political dependencies, but even of their mercantile settlements; and, further, acknowledging that they are bound to attempt, by every prudent and legitimate method, the conquest over heathen prejudice and superstition.

That such an authoritative recognition of these principles by the British Legislature was urgently needed at that period, will appear by a paper drawn up by Dr. Prideaux in 1694, entitled "An Account of the English Settlements in the East Indies, together with some proposals for the propagation of Christianity in those parts of the World." In that paper, after contrasting the prosperous condition of the Dutch settlements, with the decayed and ruinous state of the English East India Company, the writer hesitates not to ascribe the difference to the care of the Dutch to promote the honour of God in

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those regions, and the total neglect of that duty by the English. He complains that, while the Dutch settlements were provided with missionaries, and their factories and ships with able ministers, the English crews were left wholly without prayer, instruction, or sacraments,—the chaplains at their factories were depressed, and nearly rendered useless by the utter inadequacy of their allowances,—and the promotion of Christianity among the natives was altogether neglected. In order to redeem the English name from this reproach, and to procure the blessing of God on their undertakings, he proposes a scheme embracing a variety of objects;—among others, that schools and churches should be erected at the chief settlements; that missionary stations should be fixed; that a seminary should be established in England to train persons for the supply of the eastern missions; that, after a time, the persons to be prepared for this duty at the seminary, should be brought from India; *and that when Christianity should have made sufficient progress in those parts to encourage the settling of a Bishop in India, the seminary should be removed thither, and be placed under the charge and government of the Bishop.* And he adds, towards the conclusion of the paper, that experience has shewn, in the West Indies, as well as in the East, *that the existing evils and deficiencies cannot otherwise be remedied than by settling*

bishops, and seminaries in those countries where ministers may be bred and ordained upon the spot[1]. CHAP. II. 1812.

In subsequent renewals of the Company's charter, it appears that the legislature never wholly lost sight of the moral and religious welfare of India. Unhappily, however, various causes combined to defeat, in a considerable measure, their salutary resolutions. The vast distance of British India,—the inexpressible indifference with which it is usually regarded at home,—and the ignorance which consequently prevails respecting all its interests and concerns; —all these circumstances united to make the wisest legislative enactments poor and feeble in the execution. Besides, the transformation from the commercial to the political character, was rapidly going on; and the process, as may easily be imagined, was far from favourable to any designs connected with the honour of morality and religion. Even the alluring pursuit of traffic sunk into very subordinate importance in the midst of the cogent and spirit-stirring exigencies of the time. Of course, it is a subject rather of regret than of wonder, that under such circumstances the necessity of raising forts and batteries should have thrust aside all thoughts of erecting seminaries or churches,—and that, in the march of conquest, or the serpentine course of worldly

[1] Life of Prideaux, 1748, p. 161—183.

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intrigue, the cause of the Gospel should, for a time, be disregarded and forgotten!

At length, in 1793, the affairs of the Company were brought before Parliament, under circumstances peculiarly interesting and momentous. At that time their concerns were extending to an almost portentous magnitude; and the trial of Mr. Hastings had recently fixed the jealous attention of the British public upon the administration of their enormous acquisitions. The government and the trade of India were accordingly subjected to a minute and rigorous examination; and the legislature seems to have been awakened more vividly than ever to the obligation of providing for the best and highest interests of their eastern dependencies. It was, accordingly, the deliberate resolution of the House of Commons, "That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interest and the happiness of the British dominions in India; and that, for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their *religious and moral improvement;*" and further, "that sufficient means of religious worship and instruction be provided for all persons of the Protestant communion, in the service, or under the protection, of the East India Company in Asia, proper ministers being, from time to time,

sent out from Great Britain for those purposes." A clause was, subsequently, added to the Bill, "empowering the Court of Directors to send out schoolmasters, and persons approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, for the religious and moral improvement of the *native* inhabitants of the British dominions in India." But a further clause being offered, requiring the Court of Directors to settle the destination, and provide for the decent maintenance, of such persons, it was thrown out on the third reading. CHAP. II. 1812.

The twenty years which followed were years of maddening conflict and convulsion almost throughout the civilized world; and little leisure or opportunity was left for following up, effectually, these beneficent and virtuous purposes of the British legislature. During this period, however, the earthly destinies of our Asiatic empire were expanding themselves upon a scale commensurate with the gigantic operations of war and negociation in Europe. When the renewal of the charter became once more a subject of parliamentary discussion in 1813, the dominions of the Company had been augmented by a vast accession of territory, the fruits of their war with Tippoo Sahib. The Company were further connected, by political treaties, with all the chief native powers of Hindostan. The Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, had, 1813.

CHAP. II. severally, under their immediate jurisdiction and government, extensive and populous provinces; each had their separate establishments of numerous civil servants; and maintained, in addition to a large body of King's troops, a native army officered from the mother country.

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A state of things like this demanded of the British Parliament the most solemn and patient investigation. Their deliberations, accordingly, were not confined to the better regulation of trade, the more effective administration of justice, or the general safety and welfare of our eastern settlements. It was felt, in the first place, that the public were entitled to some adequate security for the principles and the attainments of the civil functionaries, who were entrusted with the administration of such mighty interests; that nothing could better furnish this security than an appropriate finish to their education, previous to their assumption of that momentous trust: that, therefore, the sanction of the legislature might, with signal advantage, be extended to the permanent maintenance of a College, which the wisdom and liberality of the Honourable Court of Directors had already established in this country; and in which their civil servants were to be prepared for their stations by Christian instruction, by a course of study embracing European literature and science; and by the acquisition of an elementary knowledge of the

necessary Asiatic languages. It was also felt, throughout this kingdom, that, without incurring an enormous load of guilt, it would be impossible longer to withhold from the cause of Christianity in the east, that honour and support which, in full and righteous measure, had never yet been rendered to it. And so strong and general was this feeling that, at length, it irresistibly communicated itself to those who directed the councils of the nation. CHAP. II. 1813.

At such a crisis, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge conceived that it fell within their peculiar province to aid in giving steadiness and strength to this great national impulse; and their exertions for that purpose are worthy of all honourable commemoration. They had long and earnestly laboured in the holy cause with which the subject of this Memoir was from henceforth to become most intimately connected; and their anxiety for its advancement was forcibly manifested in the resolutions which, at this time, they respectfully submitted, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the British government. In these resolutions[1] they expressed themselves "fully sensible that the claims, which such a body as the subjects of British India have upon the wisdom, the justice, and the charitable kindness of their rulers, must occupy the thoughts

[1] See resolutions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1812.

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of those who have to consult and provide for their prosperity; inducing them to enact such measures as may serve to the improvement of their whole existence as a people, and more particularly in their moral and religious character. The Society, therefore, did not arrogate to themselves any other feeling than that which was entertained, without doubt, by the government of the country; and, in presenting their humble wishes to those who were best able to give effect, under Providence, to what was so earnestly desired, they presumed no further than to hope that they might thereby add another motive to those inducements, which the mere urgency of the case must press upon the sovereign ruler, and the chief councils of the nation. The Society, therefore, most humbly begged leave to advert to such means, for obtaining the object of their anxious wishes, as to them appeared most likely to conduce to the great end in view.

"The Society were fully persuaded that nothing short of an establishment of pastoral superintendence, and such a supply for the ministry of the word and sacraments throughout the British empire in the east, as might correspond, in due measure, with that which constitutes the main ground of religious welfare in the realm of England, could serve to place the spiritual interests of the British subjects, in those parts, upon the best and most permanent foundations.

"The Society, further, craved permission to

observe, that more than a century had elapsed since the most earnest wishes of many chief and excellent persons in this nation had been expressed for procuring such a form of Church communion in India, as might serve to demonstrate the character of the British nation,—to provide for the exigencies of our beloved countrymen, when far severed from their friends and connections,—and, at the same time, to induce the natives, by the silent, but persuasive pattern of religious fellowship, and the sober invitation of a settled ministry, to lift their eyes to the truth, and to take courage, to this end, from the prospect of countenance and shelter which would thus be set before them. CHAP. II. 1813.

"The Society, in common with all who enjoyed the blessings of communion in the Church of England, was deeply and thoroughly convinced, that no sufficient supply for the ministerial succession, and the necessities of the extensive population of British India, could be furnished or continued, without such an establishment of the ministry as might be able to regulate and perpetuate itself; which would effectually be obtained by resort to episcopal hands in India, when, with the divine blessing, such provision should be settled there. It was thus only, in that land, that the increasing multitude of those who were born of Christian parents, and entitled therefore to early baptism,

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could be trained for every other act of religious communion, according to the means of grace, and mode of fellowship appointed by our blessed Lord in his household. It is thus only that such candidates for God's everlasting favour may be encouraged and enabled to take upon them their own obligations, by the solemn pledge to be rendered by them at confirmation, that from thenceforth they may draw near to the table of the Lord. It is thus only that a regular succession of persons, qualified for the ministerial calling, can be raised, and admitted in that country to their sacred functions, for the European and native congregations.

"The Society, therefore, offered their suffrage and their plea, that, in consideration of the pressing needs of the British subjects, European and native, in India, the permanent foundations of the Christian Church, according to its best form, should be laid among them; and that the great ends of religious and moral culture might be secured to them by the settlement of bishops in the chief Presidencies, by the forming of seminaries, and by the building of churches; the want of all which had been felt and acknowledged for more than a century; during which period the exertions of other European nations had gone before us, and had been successful in accomplishing many of those very purposes, for which the British government, in its public acts, ori-

ginally expressed its intentions to make adequate provision, but which purposes had not yet been carried into effect." CHAP. II. 1813.

These powerful arguments for the establishment of an effective episcopacy in India, were much strengthened by some recent publications of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who had been for many years a chaplain in Bengal, and whose local knowledge enabled him to state explicitly and forcibly the spiritual wants of the country.

That these suggestions would have some obstruction to encounter from the variety of opinion prevalent in this country on the subject of ecclesiastical government, or from the unwillingness to impose additional burdens on the revenues of the Company, might, not perhaps unreasonably, have been anticipated. But it was scarcely to be expected that a regard for the safety and prosperity of India should have been made the ground of opposition to a request for the provision of Christian ordinances among our own countrymen in the east. Such, however, was actually the case; nay, almost every proposal for upholding and promoting in India the knowledge of that truth, on which we profess to rest our hopes of eternal happiness, was loudly reprobated by some, as a wild and visionary scheme, impracticable by human means or agency, and as tending directly to the destruction of our Asiatic empire. An eccle-

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siastical establishment, more especially, it was contended, would be the signal for alarm and commotion among the natives; it would seem openly and ostentatiously to array Christianity against the faith of sixty millions of people, and to imply a settled design for its extirpation. Nothing, it was urged, could be expected to result from this display of Christian zeal but the most desperate and sanguinary resistance: and the design was tragically deprecated, as pregnant only with ruin and confusion.

The violence of these prejudices and apprehensions made it absolutely necessary to submit all the proposals of the friends of Christianity to the most cautious examination. A large body of evidence was accordingly taken before both Houses of Parliament, relative to the expediency and safety of any measures for the preservation of Christianity among our own people in India, or for the promulgation of it among the natives of that country. It was not till after much vehement discussion, that the following resolutions of the committee, appointed to report upon the whole Indian question, were adopted by the House of Commons, and made the foundation of corresponding clauses in the bill:—

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient that the Church establishment in the British territories in the East Indies, should

be placed under the superintendence of a bishop and three archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance. CHAP. II. 1813.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of moral and religious improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs.

"Provided always, that the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved; and that the principles of the British government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained."

It is remarkable that, of these two propositions, the latter appears to have been much more keenly contested in Parliament, than the former. It was, probably, perceived by its more intelligent adversaries there, that the establishment of episcopacy in India did not *necessarily* involve any direct and systematic design for the conversion of the natives, although it might

CHAP. II. 1813. wear the aspect of visible and authoritative hostility to their superstitions: whereas, the allowance of missionaries in that country, for the express and avowed purpose of propagating the Gospel among the people, was a measure which ought to be sternly resisted, as likely to bring Christianity and idolatry into a direct conflict, imminently dangerous to the peace and safety of India. The iniquity, as well as the absurdity of these objections, was exposed by Mr. Wilberforce in a strain of impassioned and irresistible eloquence; and as his address was directed against prejudices, which, in their full sway, would, doubtless, have likewise demolished the project of an episcopal establishment, an extract from his address cannot be unseasonable in a history of the foundation of the Anglo-Indian Church. "If," says that venerable friend of mankind, "if, sir, I have proved to you, as I trust I have irrefragably proved, that the state of our East Indian empire is such as to render it highly desirable to introduce among them the blessings of Christian light and moral improvement; that the idea of its being impracticable to do this, is contrary alike to reason and experience; that the attempt, if conducted prudently and cautiously, may be made with perfect safety to our political interests; nay more, that it is the very course, by which those interests may be most effectually promoted and

secured, does it not follow from these premises, as an irresistible conclusion, that we are clearly bound, nay, imperiously and urgently compelled, by the strongest obligations of duty, to support the proposition for which I now call upon you for your assent. But what is that proposition? Its only fault, if any, is, that it falls so far short of what the nature of the case requires. Is it that we should immediately devise, and proceed without delay to execute, the great and good and necessary work of improving the religion and morals of our East Indian fellow-subjects? No; but only that we should not, substantially and in effect, prevent others from engaging in it. Nay, not even that, but that we should not prevent government having it in their power, with all due discretion, to give licenses to proper persons, to go to India and continue there, with a view of rendering to the natives this greatest of all services. Why, sir, the commonest principles of toleration would give us much more than this. Where am I standing? Where is it, and when, that I am arguing this question? Is it not in the very assembly in which, within these few weeks, nothing but the clearest considerations of political expediency were held sufficient to justify our withholding from the Roman Catholics the full enjoyment of the fullest measure of office as well as political advantages; and when you yourself, sir, though

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you felt yourself bound to continue some few official disabilities, acknowledged that it was with reluctance, and even with pain? And shall we now lay the religion which we ourselves profess, under such a restraint, in any part of our own dominions? No, sir, it is impossible; you will not, you cannot, act thus. But in addition to what I have already said, it deserves well to be considered, that if we should fail in our present endeavour, and if Christianity should be, as it then would be, the only untolerated religion in the British dominions in India, the evil would not stop here. The want of toleration would not be merely a negative mischief; the severest persecution must infallibly ensue. For assuredly there are, and by God's help, I trust there ever will be, both European and native teachers prepared, in the face even of death itself, to diffuse the blessed truths of Christianity.

"But, let it never be forgotten, it is toleration only that we ask; we utterly disclaim all ideas of proceeding by methods of compulsion or authority. But surely I need not have vindicated myself from any such imputation. The very cause which I plead would have been sufficient to protect me from it. Compulsion and Christianity! Why, the terms are at variance with each other; the ideas are incompatible. In the language of inspiration itself, Christianity has

been called '*the law of liberty.*' Her service, in the excellent formularies of our Church, has been truly denominated, 'perfect freedom;' and they, let me add, will most advance her cause, who contend for it in her own spirit and character." CHAP. II. 1813.

In spite of all opposition, the cause of Christianity was, at last, to a certain degree, triumphant. The act which renewed the charter of the Company, erected their territories into one vast diocese, with an archdeacon to be resident at each of the three Presidencies, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. For this result the friends of Christianity were deeply grateful, even though it fell short of their wishes and their expectations, and was clearly inadequate to the spiritual exigencies of the country. The territory comprised within the diocese of Calcutta stretched from Delhi to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, no less than twenty degrees of latitude, and ten degrees of longitude, an extent of country very far exceeding the whole of the British empire in Europe. Through these vast and populous provinces, England had, in some form or other, established herself. In some, our government was completely recognised, and English magistrates and English collectors of the revenue were stationed in regular districts. Others were as yet occupied only by a military force; while some still remained under their native princes, and our connection authorised

CHAP. II. 1813. only the residence of an English envoy, with the accompaniments of his guard of honour. It was only, perhaps, at the immediate Presidencies that Protestant Christians were collected in any very considerable numbers; yet, scattered as they were, the whole were now to be considered as united under the Episcopal superintendence of a single person; and it was to be the duty and concern of the Bishop of Calcutta to watch over and to provide for the religious welfare of his countrymen, throughout the immense provinces of Hindostan!

The salary assigned to the bishop was fixed at 5000*l.* a year, and that to each of his archdeacons at 2000*l.*; appointments which, according to European estimation, may perhaps appear abundantly liberal; and which, in truth, would be so, if considered in the light of so much mere personal emolument. These sums, however, must, in all justice, be compared with the necessarily expensive establishments required by the climate, and by the general mode of living which custom has established in the east, among persons of high rank and station; to which should be added the numerous and irresistible demands on the liberality of a dignified ecclesiastic, more especially in India, where all appearance of parsimony is sure to excite contempt. And when thus considered, the revenue of the bishop and his archdeacons must, assuredly, appear inade-

quate to the importance, and it may fairly be added, to the duties of their situations. It is well known that these allowances were inferior to the salaries of many of the Company's superior civil servants. The Bishop's income was less even than that of a puisne judge. It must further be remembered, that no provision whatever was made for the expense of an episcopal residence, although it was notorious that no house at all fit for that purpose, even unfurnished, could be obtained in Calcutta for a more moderate rent than 600*l.* or 700*l.* a year. And what was still more to be lamented,—the heavy expense of his visitations to the various parts of his enormous diocese, (so indispensable for the effective discharge of the episcopal office), seemed to have been altogether forgotten. Neither was any provision made for the charge of such occasional journeys, as he, or his archdeacons, would find absolutely necessary for the superintendence of divine worship, or the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline.

CHAPTER III.

Appointment of Dr. Middleton to the Bishopric of Calcutta—His Consecration—Valedictory Address from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Embarks for Bengal—Touches at Madeira—Lands in Calcutta—His reception.

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By the statute which authorised the establishment and maintenance of the bishopric of Calcutta, the appointment of the person to fill it was vested in the Crown; and such powers and jurisdiction were to be conferred on the Bishop, as might, from time to time, be defined by letters patent under the Great Seal of England. The first care of his Majesty's government, accordingly, was to select a person, in all respects, eminently qualified for the duty of establishing the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Church, in the territory of Hindostan. The recommendation to the Prince Regent came more immediately within the patronage of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India. His lordship's nomination fell upon Archdeacon Middleton, who was commended to his notice by

Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, as a person of distinguished fitness for this most arduous trust. Overpowered by the vast magnitude and appalling novelty of such a charge, Dr. Middleton was at first tempted to decline the offer. His maturer thoughts, however, condemned this determination as unworthy of a Christian minister; and he found no peace of mind, until he had recalled his first decision, and had formed a resolution to brave the difficulties of the office, and the dangers of a tropical climate, in the service of his Saviour.

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"You will easily imagine," (he observes in a letter addressed to Archdeacon Bonney) "that in accepting this office, I have sustained a severe conflict of feelings. I *had* even declined it; but when I came to settle the account with my own heart, I really found that I had little to allege in behalf of my decision. I began to suspect that I had yielded to some unmanly considerations, when I ought rather to have counted my comfort, and my connections, and my prospects at home, as altogether worthless, in comparison with the good of which it might possibly be the design of Providence to make me the instrument. How far, even now, I have reasoned rightly, God alone knows. But I have endeavoured to view the subject impartially, and I trust in the Almighty to bless the work in which I am to engage."

The consecration of Dr. Middleton, as Bishop

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of Calcutta, took place in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, on the 8th of May, 1814. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, was assisted on the occasion by Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, by Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, and by Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, provincial Dean, Chancellor, and Precentor of Canterbury. The consecration sermon was preached by Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester. On occasions of such interest and importance, it is usual for the Archbishop to desire the publication of the discourse; a measure which, however, in the present instance, his Grace, most reluctantly, consented to dispense with. It will, perhaps, scarcely be believed that the establishment of episcopacy in our Indian dominions was regarded by many persons with so much jealousy, and by some with such positive aversion and alarm, that it was thought prudent to abstain from any proceeding which might have the effect of more particularly calling to it the attention of the public, or provoking unnecessary discussion as to its probable results; and for these reasons the admirable sermon of Dr. Rennell was suppressed! At this distance of time we may look back with astonishment on the apprehension which suggested this caution, and contemplate with gratitude the issue of an experiment which was then thought so full of doubt and hazard. The incident, however, is not altogether uninteresting or uninstructive, since it

shews what a combination of courage and forbearance is often absolutely needful for the success even of the wisest and holiest designs.

After his consecration, a considerable portion of the Bishop's time in London, was occupied in frequent interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, with the President of the India Board, with the Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors, and with various other official persons. The rest was partly devoted to the society of friends, to whom he was deeply attached, and partly employed in making a selection from his library, and adding to it such publications as would probably be useful in a country where few theological works had as yet found their way. On the 17th of May he attended a special meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had testified their confidence and esteem for him, by placing at his disposal a credit of 1000*l.* for the promotion of their views and designs in India, and which assembled on that day for the purpose of bidding him a solemn farewell, previously to his departure on his sacred mission. To Dr. Law, the Lord Bishop of Chester, was consigned the performance of this last solemn office of kindness and respect. In the valedictory address delivered by him, in the name of the Society, his lordship first adverted to the satisfaction with which they had witnessed the establishment of an Episcopal

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Church in India, as the most powerful instrument for diffusing the knowledge of uncorrupted Christianity, over a country of vast extent and immense population. He then expressed the signal gratification derived by the Society from the appointment of Dr. Middleton to that new and important station. From this moment, continued his lordship, the Society looks forward with fresh hopes towards the East; and feels itself under the most pressing obligation to continue, and to augment its efforts, for the maintenance and advancement of the Saviour's kingdom, in those remote and interesting regions. His lordship then proceeded to a brief review of the operations of the Society, with reference to the promotion of Christian knowledge in Asia, for upwards of a century past; and entreated, with all deference and respect, that the Bishop of Calcutta would condescend to honour, with his protection and superintendence, those exertions which thenceforward, by the blessing of Divine Providence, the Society might be enabled to make in prosecution of their designs. His lordship further, in the name of the Society, respectfully invited the Bishop's favourable attention to the recent establishment of their diocesan committees in almost all parts of this kingdom, under the special patronage of the Right Reverend Prelates of England and Wales; a proceeding which had been rewarded with the most beneficial con-

sequences. He added, that a great Eastern Institution, on a similar model, had long been an object of anxious desire with the Society; and that their wishes would be gratified to the uttermost, if the establishment of such an institution might be coeval with the Bishop's arrival in India, and might be permitted to grow up under his fostering care. He concluded, by declaring it to be the earnest prayer of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that the Almighty would bless the Bishop with a prosperous voyage, and crown with ample success his efforts for the advancement of his kingdom and glory.

In his answer to this address, Bishop Middleton, after warmly acknowledging the kind expressions with which his lordship had introduced it, assured him that the favourable opinion and friendly regards of the members of that venerable Society, would be a source of powerful refreshment to his wearied spirits, in all moments of difficulty and discouragement. He felt that his claims to this distinction were exceedingly overrated; but declared himself unable to express the value of their approbation, as the testimony of men distinguished by rank, and piety, and Christian zeal, in the greatest of Christian nations, at the proudest period of her existence. To zealous co-operation with the Society he willingly and ardently pledged himself. In common with

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them, he had ever been persuaded that, if the difficulties of diffusing the light of the Gospel through the east were to be successfully encountered, it must be by establishing among our countrymen in Asia, the form of church government derived from the Apostles, by inculcating attention to divine ordinances, and by departure from iniquity among all who name the name of Christ. To the value of the Society's exertions in the cause of the Gospel, among our eastern dependencies, he was assured, a confident testimony must be borne by all whose candour was open to the truth; and most happy should he deem himself, if Providence should enable him to second their benevolent designs, by the establishment of an Eastern Institution, framed upon that admirable model to which his attention had been called, and with whose successful operations in England he was well acquainted. But whatever might be the result of his endeavours, he intreated that any failure or delay might be imputed, not to indifference or disregard, but to the acknowledged difficulties of an untried station. He wished, unfeignedly, that so arduous an undertaking had been committed to stronger powers; but his trust was in the Almighty, who can call strength out of weakness. And in the execution of his duties, he should feel, under the divine protection, some security against the mischiefs of an erroneous judgment, in his firm

attachment to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England. He concluded by taking leave of the venerable Society, with his warmest thanks for that, and every other mark of their regard, and with desiring that he might always be remembered in their prayers.

By the Act of Parliament, the nomination of the three archdeacons rested with the Crown, by whom the first were appointed; but his Majesty, in the letters patent, consigned all future appointments to the Bishop, the selection to be made from the clergy in India. No provision was made for a chaplain, or a secretary, to the Bishop. His lordship, however, consented to take with him a young solicitor, who had obtained a license to practise in the Supreme Court, at Calcutta, and who was to officiate as his secretary. A few weeks previous to his departure, Bishop Middleton was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and on the 8th of June, 1814, he sailed from Portsmouth, in the *Warren Hastings*, for Bengal, together with Mrs. Middleton, and Mr. Loring, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, who had been nominated Archdeacon of Calcutta. Mr. Barnes, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, who had been nominated to the Archdeaconry of Bombay, sailed in the same fleet. Mr. Mousley, Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, who had been appointed Archdeacon of Madras, was one of the Company's

CHAP. III. chaplains, and had been for some years resident in India.

1814. It will be needless to dwell upon the emotions which must have been crowded into the moment that removed the Bishop from home, and country, and friends, and consigned him to a vast and untried scene of duty and of labour. One consolation and support, at that trying season, he enjoyed in very ample measure; he was conscious of being followed to his destination by the good wishes and the prayers of men cordially devoted to the same great cause which summoned him from his country. The attachment and the esteem of his most valued friends had, very shortly before his embarkation, been testified by a splendid memorial[1], which he acknowledged in the following terms to Mr. Watson:—

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[1] A superb silver inkstand, bearing the following inscription:

Reverendo admodum in Christo Patri
T. F. Middleton, S. T. P.
Primo Ecclesiæ Britannicæ in Indiâ Orientali Episcopo,
Ingenii ardentis, Doctrinæ reconditæ, Pietatis sinceræ viro
Pro Sanctissimo dignitatis gradu, et meritâ honorum amplitudine gratulantes,
A patriâ tamen et suis præclaro nimis fato semotum dolentes,
Hoc qualecunque est amoris, observantiæ, et desiderii testimonium
D. D. D. grati et memores amici.

Off the Isle of Wight,
June 8, 1814.

My dear Sir,

1814.

Much as I wished it, I found it impossible, before I left town, to acknowledge to you, and, through you, to my other friends, my sense of the regard to which I am indebted for a very valuable memorial. I can assure you that the many proofs of good opinion and esteem which have been offered me at a moment somewhat trying to my feelings, have been among my chief supports: though, if I could have known all the sacrifices which I should be required to make, my judgment might have faultered even more than it did in making the decision.

The agony of his separation, however, he well knew, would be best assuaged by occupations, which might prepare him for the approaching demand upon his intellectual and moral resources. His time during the voyage was, accordingly, devoted to the acquisition of the Persian language, to his improvement in the Hebrew, and to the general prosecution of his theological studies. And that he might not be without preparation for the variety of trials which inevitably awaited his temper and his judgment, he made, for his future guidance, a collection of short rules, so full of admirable good sense, that his

CHAP. III. biography would be incomplete without their insertion.

1814. "Invoke divine aid—Preach frequently, and as 'one having authority'—Promote schools, charities, literature, and good taste: nothing great can be accomplished without policy—Persevere against discouragement—Keep your temper—Employ leisure in study, and always have some work in hand—Be punctual and methodical in business, and never procrastinate—Keep up a close connection with friends at home—Attend to forms—Never be in a hurry—Preserve self-possession, and do not be talked out of conviction—Rise early, and be an economist of time—Maintain dignity without the appearance of pride: manner is something with every body, and every thing with some—Be guarded in discourse, attentive, and slow to speak—Never acquiesce in immoral or pernicious opinions—Beware of concessions and pledges—Be not forward to assign reasons to those who have no right to demand them—Be not subservient nor timid in manner, but manly and independent, firm and decided—Think nothing in conduct unimportant and indifferent—Be of no party—Be popular, if possible; but, at any rate, be respected—Remonstrate against abuses, where there is any chance of correcting them—Advise and encourage youth—Rather set than follow

example—Observe a grave economy in domestic affairs—Practise strict temperance—Remember what is expected in England—and lastly, remember the *final account.*" CHAP. III. 1814.

Such were the golden maxims by which the first Protestant Bishop of India proposed to regulate his steps through the arduous region of usefulness now opening before him; and such were the thoughts and occupations by which the tedious interval of his voyage was converted into a season of preparation for future sacrifices and exertions.

In a letter to his intimate and deeply valued friend, Mr. S. S. Ward, of the Accountant General's Office, the Bishop gives a pleasing representation of the comforts of his voyage. He dates, at sea, longitude 14° 3′ west, latitude 36° 54′ north, Monday, 20th June, 1814. After speaking of a severe gale in the Bay of Biscay, he adds, "Yesterday (Sunday), I enjoyed extremely. We had prayers in the morning, after which I read a sermon to the ladies, writers, &c., and in the evening I preached to the whole party: every thing was conducted with the strictest order and propriety; and we have every reason to be pleased that we made choice of the *Warren Hastings.* Our fleet consists of about twenty sail, including some Brazil ships, under convoy of the *Cumberland,* of seventy-four guns: we outsail almost every

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thing but the man-of-war, and we could certainly by ourselves reach Bengal by the end of September: as it is, the captain expects to be there by the 15th or 20th of October, which is three weeks sooner than I had hoped. He is really a very well-principled and liberal man, an excellent disciplinarian, and very attentive to the comforts of his passengers. I have no doubt that we shall part exceedingly good friends. He seems to be as well pleased with his passengers as they are with him, and, indeed, they are a very respectable set: they are about twenty in number, and there is not among them a single individual to whose conduct or conversation it is possible to make the slightest objection. I assure you that I feel and am thankful for the comforts of my situation. I have got up a book-case in my library (the stern gallery), which I have furnished with more than a hundred volumes, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, Latin, French, and English—theological, classical, mathematical, historical, and poetical; and in such society I expect to enjoy a degree of relaxation to which I have been long a stranger. I have nothing to apprehend from illness in future unless the weather should be unusually bad: the officers say, that we may look for such weather as we now enjoy, with the exception of a few days off the Cape, during the whole voyage."

Funchal, June 25, 1814. CHAP. III. 1814.

We landed here on Thursday the 25th. At day-break we were in the roads, and most magnificent was the view: a fine town of stone upon the beach, with numberless villas stuck amidst orange groves on the side of the mountain rising abruptly from the sea, and its summits in the clouds. While I was lost amidst the beauty and majesty of this spectacle, the *Cumberland,* of seventy-four guns, our convoy, opened her thunders to salute the Portuguese flag, which was instantly returned from the fort. Captain Baker then sent a lieutenant and fourteen men to invite the Bishop and his party on board the *Cumberland,* where he had prepared a splendid breakfast for us: I was then informed that the officer and the boat were at my orders, and would land us on the beach. We had scarcely quitted the ship, when Captain Baker fired another salute of twelve guns to announce my arrival. On landing, we proceeded immediately to Mr. Gordon's, to whom I had a letter; he received us with great attention, and has desired us to remain with him during our stay in the island—nothing can be more flattering than our reception. To-morrow I shall preach to the English, and on Monday I shall climb the mountains.—God bless you.

T. F. Calcutta.

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Of his residence at Madeira, the following animated and interesting description is given by him to his friend, the Rev. H. H. Norris, of Hackney.

Funchal, Madeira,
July 8, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,

Though I cannot at present have any thing to communicate respecting India, you will probably not be unwilling to hear that I have arrived in safety at this place; I have thus accomplished about a tenth part of my voyage. I reached Portsmouth just in time to secure my passage; and after fifteen days' sail, two or three of which were very tempestuous, I was landed here on the 23d ult. with a salute from the Cumberland of 74, and every other mark of attention from Captain Baker, the commander. The Portuguese governor, the bishop, the English commandant in chief, General Gordon, &c. &c. have all called upon me. We are quartered at the house of Mr. James Gordon, an English merchant, who entertains us with the most unbounded hospitality and kindness. As there are no hotels in the town, which are at all reputable, though it has a population of 20,000, the principal merchants keep open house for all visitors, who are recommended to them; and we seem to have been consigned to the best house in the place: we meet at meals, and the rest of the day

follow our own pursuits; my party, consists of Mrs. Middleton, Miss Sharpe, Archdeacon Loring, and our servant, a pretty numerous body to take to the house of a perfect stranger, for a fortnight or three weeks together; but the custom of the island reconciles us to it: indeed, I suspect that a voyage to India will reconcile me to many things, which otherwise appear very awkward.

The first view of this island is one of the most striking I ever beheld: a large white town on the beach, with immense mountains rising close at the back of it, sprinkled with the villas of the merchants, amidst vineyards, and orange groves, placed terrace above terrace, like steps up the steep ascent, and clouds almost constantly resting on its summit,—such is the picture. After being here two or three days, we made a visit into the interior, twelve or thirteen miles off, to view the greatest curiosity in the island, and perhaps a more stupendous scene is not to be found among the Alps: it is a precipice, from which you look down three quarters of a mile perpendicularly. When we reached it, the abyss was filled with clouds; but these gradually dispersed, and discovered to us a new world beneath us, hills and valleys, vineyards, houses, and a village church, all of course in miniature, and glowing with softer tints than I had supposed to exist in nature. The ladies went in hammocks,

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carried upon poles, while the gentlemen rode mules: the roads are the most frightful you can conceive, every where prodigiously steep, and in many places formed of large unshapen stones, laid like steps, with roots of trees sticking up in the midst of them. Yesterday I rode General Gordon's charger, to visit a seat about three miles off, the road to which, though the best in the island, is prodigiously steep, and paved with granite. After I had ridden, with tolerable courage, down one of these descents, an Irish colonel of our party exclaimed, "Well, my lord, I have been thinking whether any other English Bishop would have followed your lordship." This is a sort of breaking in for my visitations in India. I thought of poor Jacobi's letter to Dr. Gaskin, and "his horse full of fire," but I cannot identify the scene he describes: from what I recollect of it, his description would suit the whole island.

The first Sunday after I landed, I preached to the factory; they have not any church, but only a room, with seats for the ladies, and a sort of desk for the clergyman. I rather hesitated at first about preaching in such a place; but I recollected that the Bishops in England preach in proprietary chapels, which are not a whit better, and have less excuse; for the Portuguese government will not allow any thing having the interior

of a church to be built by Protestants. As to the religion established here, I have seen enough to convince me, that popery, where it goes its full length, is absolute paganism. However, they have not threatened to burn me, but are very civil: I was more generally known here within two or three days, than I was in St. Pancras in as many years. "Bispo Inglezes," English Bishop, was buzzed among the people as I passed along, till now they scarcely look at me. I wrote a hasty letter to Mr. Joshua Watson, requesting him to make my warmest acknowledgments to the donors of the handsomest ink-stand that ever went out to India. I shall remember you all with affection. I think of Bartlett's Buildings every Tuesday: if I recollect, you do not meet from this time till October: by that time I hope I shall be upon the Indian seas: we are to sail again the day after to-morrow. I have been very ill here for some time with a bowel complaint, which is endemic, but am recovered. God bless you. Remember us to Mrs. Norris, to Dr. and Mrs. Watson, Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Watson, and all whom you know that we esteem and love.

Yours, ever most truly,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

P. S. Let me hear from you, and remember, nothing can be uninteresting. If you see Lord

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Kenyon, pray tell his lordship that I wrote to him on my arrival here: I hope my letter has escaped the American privateers.

During his stay, the Bishop visited all the principal churches and convents in the town of Funchal, and made several other excursions for the purpose of enjoying the magnificent and truly Alpine scenery of the island. In another of his letters, alluding to these excursions, he says, that frightful as the roads were, by degrees he became so accustomed to them, that in the course of his short abode of sixteen days, he was able to ride boldly down a steep of 45°, where a single false step must have plunged him into instant destruction. In one of his rambles, his clerical dress made him an object of remark to some of the bystanders, some of whom were overheard to ejaculate, "what a pity he is a heretic—his perdition is inevitable!" The heretical prelate, however, was induced to be present at a mass performed at the Convent of Santa Clara, for a Duchesa who had lately died, and at which the Bishop of Funchal assisted, and preached in Portuguese. Previously to their leaving Madeira, the Bishop was present at an entertainment given by Captain Baker, on board the *Cumberland*, to the principal English residents; and on the 9th of July, he again embarked under a salute. The fleet then set sail,

and kept together until they reached the latitude of the Cape, when the convoy left them, and the ships destined for Bombay also separated. The state of his feelings, about this time, is described in the following passage from a letter of his to the author of these pages, dated at sea, August 22, 1814, when he was at no great distance from Rio Janeiro. After describing the monotony of life on ship-board, he adds, "You will easily imagine that such a mode of existence will sometimes awaken gloomy reflections. In such a train of mind, I one day took up the Odyssey; and was not much relieved by reading Eurycléa's advice to Telemachus:

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> Ἀλλὰ μὲν αὖθ' ἑπὶ σοῖσι καθήμενος· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ
> πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον κακὰ πάσχειν, οὐδ' ἀλάλησθαι.

However, the answer of Telemachus was more satisfactory, and, though expressed in heathen Greek, it excited in me somewhat, I hope, of Christian feeling;

> Θαρσεῖ, μᾶι', ἑπεὶ οὔτι ἄνευ ΘΕΟΥ ἥδε γε βουλή [2].

I do trust that the Almighty will enable me to be not altogether useless in the great work in which I have embarked: otherwise, I have made sacrifices which I shall have cause to

[2] Odyss. B. 369.

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regret as long as I live. I shall never forget my feelings as I stepped into the boat at Portsmouth! I did not know that so many ideas could be crowded into the mind in a single instant. All that I love in England, and all that I hope for in India, seemed to dart across me. But I was prepared, in some measure, for the trial, and bore it, I hope, with tolerable firmness."

The *Warren Hastings* arrived at the Sand Heads, at the mouth of the Ganges, towards the latter end of November; and on the 28th of that month the Bishop landed in Calcutta. His first communication from the metropolis of his diocese appears to have been to his friend Mr. Ward, and it is inserted here as containing a vivid exhibition of his freshest feelings, and earliest proceedings, on entering upon the scene of his awful duties.

Calcutta, Dec. 26, 1814.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

On this day four weeks I reached this great city; and, with the exception of a vessel which sailed a day or two after my arrival, I write by the first ships. My landing here was without any eclat, for fear, I suppose, of alarming the prejudices of the natives; who, however, I am assured, begin to entertain a better opinion of the English, for venturing to

avow that they have some sort of religion. Nothing can exceed the beauty of Calcutta, I mean the European part; in every direction, as I look out of the window, I see an assemblage of white villas, and trees, and tanks. The church is, I think, without exception, the handsomest modern edifice of the kind I ever saw; spacious and airy, supported on handsome Corinthian columns, and paved throughout with blue Chinese marble; there are no pews, but rows of chairs, which have a light and elegant effect: on one side of the pulpit is the chair of the Governor-General, and opposite, that of the Bishop: the Judges sit in one gallery, and the Supreme Council opposite. CHAP. III. 1814.

Yesterday (Christmas-day), I made my first appearance in the pulpit—the church was filled long before the service began—1300 persons were present: I preached to them from Luke ii. 10, 11, on the need of a Saviour, and the *true notion* of Him whom God hath sent us; concluding with some reflections arising out of the new relation in which I stand towards the people of India. I was heard with mute attention for fifty-five minutes; and, from what I can collect, the Churchmen are abundantly well satisfied, while the Methodists are pleased to find that the Bishop is a Christian. I wish, if possible, to bring them together, though it will be a difficult task: here, as elsewhere, we have altar

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against altar, and people who violate charity and talk very wildly, to say nothing worse; but I told them that I came to India, as Titus went to Crete, "to set in order the things that are wanting;" and that in the primitive ages, "Episcopacy was at once the bond of unity and the safeguard of truth." From the sermon we proceeded to make a collection for the poor, and raised 750*l.*, and afterwards to the sacrament, which I administered to upwards of 160 persons, including the judges, the council, general officers, &c. &c. The day will long be remembered in Calcutta.

I have seen the Baptist missionaries, Carey and Marshman, who, with all the Orientalists, send me their books. One of the most curious interviews I have had has been with a native of some rank, a Hindoo, who came to talk with me about morals and religion, and especially education. I suspect he also wished to know whether I was come in the character of Grand Inquisitor; and I was glad of an opportunity to disclaim every thing of the kind. I told him that my government held in abhorrence every thing like persecution, and that I would not attempt any thing beyond the diffusion of useful knowledge, and an exposition of what we believed to be the truth. He was so well pleased with this declaration, that I believe it was what he wanted. He said, "if my lord will do that,

it will be great for my lord's name: my lord will be great in India. Sir W. Jones was a great man, and understood our books; but he attended only to our law. Your lordship will study our religion: your people mistake our religion; it is not in our books: the Brahminee religion and your lordship's are the same,—we mean the same thing!" The fact is, that the man is quite at sea upon the subject: he has quitted the faith of his fathers as untenable, and is committed to the wide ocean of Deism: whether I shall be enabled to assist him, I know not; but he has promised to come to me again.

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You will see from all this that I have found my way into a field of very interesting duties: what I may accomplish I know not; every body says, that I shall find it up-hill work; but very fortunately they have got an idea of my prudence and discretion; and even some zealous people here are firmly of opinion, that nothing is more likely to conciliate the natives to the Christian faith than the recent measures of government in sending out a Bishop. The natives, so far from feeling the agitation and alarm which have been talked of, applaud what has been done. I am credibly assured, that, before my arrival, many of them said, it would raise us in their estimation: "You have a head of your army and a head of your law, and of every department, but your

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religion." In short, they have seen so little of our religion, that they were puzzled to know in what it consisted. I heard the other day a curious anecdote, which goes to the point: some of the lower Europeans here, as elsewhere, have a trick of whistling—this is utterly unknown to the Asiatics, and some of them, not knowing any more than ourselves what it can mean, have gravely asked, whether it was not some sort of invocation addressed to the Deity?

I want exceedingly to get to work, especially before the hot weather comes in. I have a world of business on my hands: I have to make out commissions for licensing the clergy all over India, to institute the two archdeacons of Madras and Bombay, and to draw up articles of enquiry respecting the state of congregations, &c. to be sent to the clergy. I must also think of a confirmation; and government has just been consulting me about a general thanksgiving throughout India, on account of the peace: of course it will be proper, so I must draw up a form of prayer, and prepare a sermon. My table is already covered with documents for my consideration: so that you see, my friend, I have no sinecure; nor do I wish it. I only ask for my present health of mind and body, and I will do my best.

I shall be most anxious to hear from you,

when the Cuffnells is supposed to be near: be assured that the effect of distance is only to endear to us friends whom we really love. CHAP. III. 1814.

Believe me ever, my dear Seth,
Your much obliged and very affectionate,
T. F. CALCUTTA.

In a subsequent letter to Mr. Norris, dated June 3, 1815, he says, that whatever might be his public reception, his private welcome was all that he could desire:

"We had a tedious voyage of five months, but without any thing unusual. Frightful tempests off the Cape are almost a matter of course; we arrived, however, I thank God, in perfect health. My public reception was certainly so arranged as not to *alarm* the natives: I believe it might *surprise* them; as they would naturally suppose, considering the high reverence which they pay to the heads of their own religion, that the arrival of a Bishop would make some little stir. My private reception, however, was very kind and respectful; and, allowing for the necessity of living with a stranger for full two months, till I could meet with a house, I encountered no particular inconvenience. I found that it was admitted, on all hands, even by those who did not see the necessity of sending out a Bishop, that he ought, if sent out, to have had a house and a suitable income; and I have reason to think, that

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1814. With reference to these letters, it should be understood that no public mark of respect whatever announced the arrival of the first episcopal governor of the Anglo-Indian Church. His appearance in his diocese was as completely unnoticed by the authorities as the first landing of a civilian or a cadet. If the Bishop regretted this circumstance, it was purely from the apprehension that the withholding of these outward demonstrations of honour might weaken his hands for the discharge of an office, the very novelty of which would demand all the aids and appliances which could be employed to testify the respect and concurrence of the government. His want of a residence, however, to which he also alludes in the above letter, was a most severe personal annoyance; and, besides, it was not only a distressing embarrasment, but a heavy disappointment: for though no house had been specifically provided for the Bishop, at the time of his leaving England, he had yet been led to believe, at the India Board, that some instructions would be sent out to the Supreme Government respecting suitable accommodation both for himself and for the several archdeacons. At none of the presidencies, it must be recollected, are there inns or hotels, to which a family may resort on their first landing; and it is conse-

quently usual for persons destined for that country, to come prepared with letters of introduction, which always secure them a hospitable reception on their arrival. For the Bishop of Calcutta, however, no letter of introduction could be deemed necessary; his character and office were of course sufficient to entitle him to a reception at the Government House; and it cannot be questioned that he and his family would have immediately been accommodated there, had the Governor-General, the Earl of Moira, been at Calcutta when the Bishop arrived. At that time, however, his lordship, who was also Commander-in-chief, was at a great distance from the capital, engaged in conducting the war with the Nepaulese. In the absence of the Governor-General, the offices of hospitality would naturally devolve on the Vice-President, Mr. Edmonstone; but it so happened, that, at the time of the Bishop's arrival, the house of this gentleman was already fully occupied. The third member of the council, however, Mr. Seton, on learning the arrival of the Bishop, most courteously invited his lordship and his family to his dwelling; and there he accordingly remained for some weeks, receiving the kindest entertainment and accommodation, until a suitable residence could be procured and furnished for his reception; for which, however, he was compelled to pay the enormous rent of 630*l.* per annum!

CHAPTER IV.

Review of the state of the English Church in India—Insufficiency of Clergy—Still fewer Churches—General state of Christianity in Hindostan—Syrian Christians—Armenians—Romish Establishments—Dutch Congregations—Danish Missions—Missions under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Jews in India—Hindoos and Mahometans.

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No sooner did the Bishop sit down to contemplate his situation in India, and to make arrangements for the superintendence of the English Church in those provinces, than he found himself environed with numerous and complicated difficulties. Of these difficulties some, perhaps, were inseparable from the novelty of the function he had to sustain—(for under an aspect of novelty, it would inevitably present itself to his countrymen there)—though there was reason to hope that, as the nature of that office, and the intentions of the legislature should be better understood, such difficulties would gradually disappear. But others were of a more formidable character. One vexatious source of perplexity

was the indistinct and insufficient manner in which his episcopal powers were limited in the letters patent. His immediate duties had especial reference to the maintenance of Christianity among his own countrymen, according to the national form of worship and discipline: but the instrument by which the exercise of the episcopal functions was authorised, was, unfortunately, framed too exclusively with a view to the long-established ecclesiastical system of England, and with too little attention to the varied and peculiar local circumstances of British India.

In order that the reader may be enabled justly to appreciate the cares and embarrassments which the first English Bishop had to encounter, it will be necessary to state briefly the condition of our Church in that country, as respects the clergy, at the time when Dr. Middleton commenced his pastoral superintendence of it. In the earlier stages of our connection with the country, we hear only of a few mercantile settlements or factories, at which, perhaps, a military fort was subsequently erected, by permission of the native power. In other instances, as in the case of Bombay, a fortified city, with a small district attached, was ceded to the Company by political treaty. The civil portion of the English residents received their spiritual ministrations at the hands of clergymen selected by the Company

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at home, and placed, conformably to certain regulations, under the control of their local agents. The military, consisting of his Majesty's regiments from England, were usually supplied with chaplains from the King's army establishment, and were accordingly subject to military rule and discipline. With the increase of the Company's territories the King's army became proportionably extended; and by compact with the King's government, the Company bound themselves to maintain that force out of their own revenue, so long as it should remain on the continent of India; agreeing, at the same time, to provide it with a supply of clerical ministers from among their own chaplains. The clergy thus required for the spiritual duty of the European army continued, together with a few chaplains attached to the civil service, to form the clerical body of British India; and all of them, both civil and military, received their appointments from the Court of Directors, though they were nominated to particular stations by the local government of the country. The stations to which the chaplains were nominated, besides the presidencies, were usually those at which a King's regiment was cantoned; and, in addition to their religious duties with the military, their ministrations extended to such civil servants of the Company, with their families, as might be resident within their reach.—Such was the general provision for

the spiritual edification of our countrymen; and as long as the military stations were few, and the territorial possessions of the Company comparatively small, it might, perhaps, if regularly supplied, be not wholly inadequate to its purpose.

The gradual transition, however, from this state of things to one of immense extent and complication is now matter of history. In addition to the king's troops, amounting to 20,000 men, the Company came at length to form one or more European regiments of their own at each presidency, together with an European corps of artillery, and the European officers of a large native army, together with its medical staff. To these we must add the civil servants of the Company in the several judicial and political departments, and that of the revenue, the lawyers of the supreme courts, and the free merchants, planters, and mariners, who reside in the country by virtue of a license from the Company. Neither must we omit, that besides the congregations of natives under the charge of missionaries from the religious societies in England, there is a large population of the descendants of British parents, being of a mixed race, and having only the privileges of colonists, but for whose spiritual welfare it, of course, was indispensable that provision should be made. For such a body of Protestant Christians, scattered through the provinces of Hindostan, it is obvious that the

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services of a few military chaplains must now have been utterly inadequate. The total number of clergy, both civil and military, did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814, exceed thirty-two: in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction, by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England. Such, for instance, was the amount of these casualties at Bombay, on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes, in 1814, that he found at that presidency only one efficient clergyman on the establishment; and was compelled, himself, for some time, to undertake the ordinary duties of a chaplain.

In order to mitigate, in some slight degree, the evils of this lamentable deficiency, the Bombay government had, for a few years previously, permitted the only resident chaplain to make, occasionally, a tour through the districts of the presidency. For this service he received the allowance of 400 rupees a month; (a virtual acknowledgment of the propriety and justice of a regular provision for the expenses of such circuits,—which, yet, has hitherto been refused). The same practice, it is believed, was resorted to in other parts of India. The local governments had also occasionally solicited the services of a naval chaplain from such of the king's ships as visited the presidencies, for assistance in clerical

duties on shore. It is obvious that a system of expedients, like this, must be wholly insufficient to satisfy the religious necessities of the country. No one clergyman was within many days' journey of another. In several places, even where a considerable Christian congregation might be collected, no clerical persons were seen for many years. Many of the civil servants in India might be said to be almost in a state of excommunication from Christian ordinances, for twenty years together, with the exception of the opportunities afforded by an occasional visit to the seat of government. Not only the offices for marriage, and burial, but that of baptism also, were continually ministered by lay persons; generally, though not always, by the magistrate or commanding officer of the station. Numbers of young men, who received their appointments to India at a very early age, were left wholly without public religious instruction, and consequently were in danger of sinking, gradually and silently, into a state of virtual apostasy. In a climate, too, where death is busy, and where disease is continually undermining the firmest constitutions, it often happened that no pastor was at hand to administer to the sick and dying the emblems of that atonement on which alone we rest our hopes of pardon and acceptance; or to offer to the survivors the consolations of faith, and to awaken their consciences to the awful

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warnings of mortality. In short, multitudes of our brethren in India then lived and died without having the religion of their fathers brought home to their heart, or sensibly embodied to their sight. The consequences were, that the faith and virtue of Europeans were exposed to constant hazard of shipwreck, and that in the eyes of the Hindoo or Mussulman, the Christians often appeared to be little better than a godless, and almost an accursed, race. Without exaggeration it may be affirmed, that in India, for a long period of time, the more general impression respecting our countrymen was, that they were altogether destitute of religious sentiment or belief!

The pernicious effects of this deplorable deficiency were sometimes heavily aggravated by another circumstance, namely, that unworthy individuals were sometimes found to insinuate themselves into this sacred department of the public service. Of the Indian clergy, as a body, it is no more than bare justice to say, that there were among them many individuals of unquestioned piety, and valuable literary acquirements, pursuing a course of laborious usefulness in their holy calling. It cannot, however, be dissembled, that the patronage of the Honourable Court of Directors was, occasionally, dishonoured by persons of a very different description. In one instance, too, it certainly did

occur, that an individual had ventured on the performance of religious functions in a character higher than that to which he had been ordained. But, even with regular and well disposed clergymen, an enervating climate, and the absence of superior superintendence, would sometimes give occasion to inattention and improper practices. Now, in all countries, a careless, immoral, or irreverent minister of religion is among the bitterest plagues with which society can be infested. But in India the mischief was in a tenfold measure destructive. If the salt which was so thinly scattered lost its savour, what but universal decay and corruption could be expected? At a later period, indeed, the Honourable Court most vigilantly guarded against any such abuse of their confidence; and the chaplains sent out by them were as eminent for their blameless and religious lives as the generality of their brethren in England. The grand evil, next to the want of regular episcopal superintendence, was the insufficiency of the number of the clergy; and, it is painful to add, that, few as they were, the churches, or places set apart for divine service, were still fewer. At each presidency, or seat of the local governments, there was one church, and one only: for the second church at Calcutta was private property, and the chaplain who officiated there was specially appointed to that service by the

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Court. In the country there were one or two more churches at certain of the more important stations; but in most of the places where the clergy were called upon to officiate, no such provision was made. A mess-room or a barrack, and, in some instances, the official court of the magistrate, was the only convenience that could be obtained for the assembling of a Christian congregation, and the public exercise of prayer and praise to the Almighty. The following extract from an official document, issued under the Bengal government in 1807, affords a curious but melancholy illustration of the state of things:—"The Commander-in-chief has directed a riding-school to be included in the estimates for public buildings at Meerut, upon the scale of the riding-schools at Ghazeepoor and Cawnpoor, *for the double purpose of a place of worship and a riding school*[1]!"

Such was the aspect under which Christianity was exhibited in India by its European governors, when it became the diocese of an English bishop; in India, which was covered with ancient religious institutions, many of them liberally and even magnificently endowed, and with stately places of worship provided respectively with their appropriate establishments of priests and ministers. Every where the

[1] Minutes of the Bengal Government, May 28, 1807.

European was surrounded with monuments of the piety of idolaters and Mahometans; and often with memorials of Christian zeal, though debased and corrupted by error and superstition. But he sought, almost in vain, for any thing to remind him that India was now ruled by men who professed the Gospel in its primitive and undefiled purity. He might even traverse over a large portion of our Indian provinces without any external assurance that its present possessors were bound together by creed, or discipline, or ordinances of religious worship, or by any thing that deserved the name of religious communion.

It will, however, be impossible to understand completely the position in which Bishop Middleton found himself placed, without a brief survey of the general state of Christianity in Hindostan, when it became the diocese of an English prelate. It is not, for a moment, to be doubted that his thoughts had been deeply occupied with such a review in the interval between his appointment to the office, and the moment of commencing the exercise of his functions. It is, therefore, desirable that the prospect which then presented itself to his contemplation should, as distinctly as possible, be displayed to the reader of his life.

The first, and on some accounts the most interesting object, that offered itself to his attention, was the ancient Syrian Church, which

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(to borrow the words of his successor, Bishop Heber), had been for ages shedding its lonely and awful light over the woods and mountains of Malabar. By this community no less a personage was claimed as their founder than the Apostle Saint Thomas. It is, however, the more probable opinion, that they were driven from Syria in times of persecution against the Nestorian faith, which they had uniformly professed, and that they owe the title often ascribed to them by the Portuguese, of St. Thomè Christians, to some early chief or bishop of that name. A more particular account of the past fortunes, and present condition of this venerable church, will be given in another part of this memoir, which relates to the visit paid to it by Bishop Middleton in 1816. At present it will be sufficient to state, that at the time of his arrival in India, they were known to inhabit the coast between the mountains and the sea, from Cape Comorin to Cranganore; that a considerable portion of them still remained in communion with the Church of Rome, whose yoke had been forcibly imposed on them by the Portuguese, at the close of the sixteenth century; that the rest were supposed to possess about fifty churches, acknowledging the *Jacobite* Patriarch of Antioch, although their faith had been originally *Nestorian;* that while the language in common use among them was that of the

country, the Malayalim, their liturgy and their Scriptures were in the ancient Syriac: and that so tenacious was their attachment to this sacred dialect, that the holy see was compelled to concede the use of it to the churches under her dominion. CHAP. IV. 1815.

Of the Armenian Christians, it has been remarked, that they are eminently qualified for the office of extending the knowledge of Christianity throughout the East. "They are to be found in every principal city of Asia; they are the general merchants of the East, and are in constant motion from Canton to Constantinople[1]." They have, immemorially, had the character of an industrious and enterprising people; and what is a much higher praise, they have always been distinguished for an inflexible adherence to their faith, and a steady resistance to religious oppression, whether inflicted by Papists or Mahometans. They have never formed any considerable settlement without building a church; and they have, accordingly, a church at each of the three capitals of British India, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, besides others in the interior of the country. They are supplied with ministers from their own establishments in Persia, and are frequently visited by bishops, accompanied by archdeacons, sent

[1] Buch. Christ. Res. p. 254.

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by the Patriarch of Echmiatzin. In their worship and their faith they differ, in several respects, both from the Greek and Latin Churches; and it is somewhat remarkable, that though they acknowledge seven sacraments, these are not all of them the same with those of the Church of Rome[1]. It is supposed that the whole of their congregations in India do not amount to more than a few thousand souls. It will easily be imagined that the venerable antiquity of these Armenian and Syrian communities, and their freedom from essential error and corruption, would make them objects of solemn and affecting interest to a mind, like that of Bishop Middleton's, profoundly conversant with the early history of the Christian Church.

The influence, or at least the name, of the Church of Rome, had penetrated into almost every region of the East; so that (as the Bishop afterwards remarked in the course of his primary visitation) it is almost impossible to move in any direction without tracing her footsteps. And of all the Roman Catholic nations, the Portuguese appears to have been unrivalled in energy and zeal, and to have done more, in their mistaken and superstitious manner, for the religion of the Cross, than all the other European settlers

[1] La Croze, Vol. I. p. 308.

and colonists together. The vestiges which that once enterprising people have left of themselves will, indeed, never be wholly effaced. The Portuguese language, though generally corrupted into a mere jargon, prevails, at this moment, wherever there are, or have been, settlements of that nation. Their descendants are found on the coasts from the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope to the sea of China; and the Portuguese language may, perhaps, be considered as one favourable medium for the diffusion of the true religion throughout the maritime provinces of the East[1].

The government of the Roman Catholic congregations, of every description, throughout

[1] See Dr. C. Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 179, 180, ed. 1819. The posterity of the Portuguese, the author tells us, are to be found on the coasts "beginning from Sofala, Mocaranga, Mozambique (where there is a bishop), Zinzebar, and Melinda (where there are many churches), on the East of Africa, and extending round by Babelmandel, Diu, Surat, Daman, Bombay, Goa, Calicut, Cochin, Angengo, Tutecorin, Negapatam, Jaffnapatam, Columbo, Point de Galle, Tranquebar, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Porto-Novo, Pondicherry, Sadras, Madras, Masulipatam, Chinsurah, Bandel, Chittagong, Macao, and Canton; and almost all the islands of the Malayan Archipelago, which were first conquered by the Portuguese." Dr. Buchanan adds, "that he visited most of the places above enumerated; and in many of them could not hear of a single copy of the Portuguese Scriptures."

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India, from the banks of the Chrishna to Cape Comorin, was committed to two titular archbishops, two titular bishops, and three bishops *in partibus*, with the title of Apostolic Vicars. The two archbishops were those of Goa, and of Cranganore; of whom the former is Metropolitan of India, and who also has the title of Primate of the East. The See of Cranganore had been vacant for forty years, and the bishopric had, during that period, been administered by a vicar-general, appointed by the Archbishop of Goa. The two bishoprics were those of St. Thomas, near Madras, (the ancient Meliapore), and of Cochin, in Malabar, which also had both been unoccupied for sixteen years, the distracted condition of Europe having disabled the Portuguese court from filling up those vacant sees. These four bishops had been, at all times, appointed by the court of Portugal, which, since the first establishment of its dominion in India, had uniformly claimed the exclusive right of ecclesiastical patronage in that country, and had viewed, with extreme jealousy, the spiritual interference and missionary labours of all other Catholics. These pretensions, however, were by no means recognised or respected by the Holy See, which, from the first, had asserted its spiritual supremacy, and appointed bishops *in partibus*, with the title of Vicars Apostolic, in various parts of Asia, under the immediate control of the

congregation *de propagandâ* at Rome, and wholly independent of the titular bishops; and this, in spite of the iterated protestations of the court of Portugal. These apostolic vicars were three in number; of whom one was fixed at Bombay, another at Hierapolis, or Verapoly near Cochin; and a third at Pondicherry. Each of them had at their disposal a small body of missionaries, both Europeans and natives. At this time these missions were in a state of great feebleness and languor. The wars and convulsions of Europe had long interrupted the supply of European missionaries; and, without their assistance, the native clergy were wholly unqualified for the labour of preserving them.

The Archbishop of Goa is said to have had within his jurisdiction nearly 300,000 souls. Under him was a native clergy, consisting of 1,500[1] individuals, both secular and regular. The jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Cranganore extended to Madura, and other districts, and seventy or eighty years since, comprehended above 200,000 native Christians; but was, at this period, reduced to a third of that number. The bishopric of Cochin contained somewhat more than 60,000 Christians; that of St. Thomas

[1] Dr. Claudius Buchanan says there are 3,000 priests belonging to Goa, who are either resident there, or stationed on their cures at a distance.—Christian Researches, p. 181, ed. 1819.

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50,000, including natives and half-castes. Of the apostolic vicars, the bishop resident in Bombay had under his care a number not exceeding 12,000 souls, chiefly half-castes, who were attended by Italian Carmelite friars. The authority of the apostolic vicar at Pondicherry, extended over the Carnatic and the Mysore, in which countries there were said to be about 35,000 Christians. The mission under the control of the apostolic vicar at Verapoly was also attended by Italian Carmelites. It comprised the country of Travancore, and was the most flourishing of the three. It is said to have reckoned about 120,000 native Christians, who were attended by 100 native priests, and were permitted to retain the Syriac language in their services. The education of these priests, and their preparation for the ministry, was entrusted to the Carmelites, then three or four in number, in their seminary at Verapoly [1].

Thus it appears that there were no less than seven papal prelates appointed to superintend the interests of the Romish Church in British India!

[1] The above account of the Roman Catholic establishments is taken chiefly from the letters of the Abbé Dubois. The views and opinions of this writer respecting the prospects of Christianity in India, are notoriously of very little value. But it is presumed that his statements may be safely relied upon, relative to the external condition of his own Church in that country.

And corresponding to the number of her spiritual establishments was, in some instances at least, their external and visible grandeur. "The magnificence of the churches of Goa," says Dr. C. Buchanan, "exceeds any idea I had formed from the previous description. Goa is properly a city of churches; and the wealth of provinces seems to have been expended in their construction. The ancient specimens of architecture, at this place, far excel any thing that has been attempted in modern times, in any other part of the East. The chapel of the palace is built after the plan of St. Peter's at Rome. The church of St. Dominic, the founder of the Inquisition, is decorated with paintings of Italian masters. St. Francis Xavier lies enshrined in a monument of exquisite art, and his coffin is enchased with silver and precious stones. The cathedral of Goa is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe; and the church and convent of the Augustinians (in which I now reside) is a noble pile of building, situated on an eminence, and has a magnificent appearance from afar[1]."

It must, indeed, be always kept in mind, that this splendid external apparatus, combined with the celebrated missionary labours of the Jesuits, had done little or nothing to preserve Christianity from a state of the most deplorable

[1] Christian Researches, p. 157, 158.

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degradation; and that, in many places, the religious worship of the native Romish Christians exhibited a strange mixture of idolatry and true religion, a monstrous coalition between Christ and Belial. Neither ought it to be forgotten that an aspect of withering and ferocious bigotry was given to the whole system, by the establishment of the Inquisition, which, till towards the conclusion of the war in Europe, was maintained at Goa in its supreme and plenary jurisdiction. And yet, in spite of all these considerations, it is, surely, quite impossible to turn, without certain feelings of humiliation, from this view of the ample resources, and splendid ornaments of Indian Catholicism, and then to look upon the parsimony and languor which had hitherto disgraced the proceedings of Protestant Christianity in Asia. While the Church of Rome was thus prodigally and conspicuously armed, the Church of England was left almost without the means of making herself known in our Asiatic dominions. The imperfect system of ministration by chaplains, as detailed above (if system it could be called), was wholly unfit to preserve or perpetuate in the hearts of Englishmen, an image of the religious polity of their native land. The English clergy appeared in India detached from all connection with an episcopal establishment. They were subject to no ecclesiastical jurisdiction; they were

far removed from the influence of any ecclesiastical superior; they were the mere stipendiary servants of the government. The authority to which they were amenable, was purely of a secular description: and the discipline by which they were regulated, approached more nearly to a military than a spiritual character. If, therefore, the Church of England were known, or remembered in India, it may justly be attributed, in a great degree, to the successful operations of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had long maintained several missionary stations in the south of India, for the most part under the care of Protestant ministers.

Previously to any notice of the history and state of these missions, it will be necessary to advert briefly to the labours of other Protestant nations for the propagation of Christianity in these parts of the world. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Dutch had wrested from the crown of Portugal several valuable possessions on the coast of Ceylon; and they appear to have had considerable success in their endeavours to establish Christianity in their settlements. When these possessions were surrendered to the British army in 1796, the number of native Protestant Christians is stated to have been upwards of 340,000; but there is reason to believe this statement to have been

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exaggerated. The districts in which these Christians resided, had been divided by the Dutch into 240 churchships or parishes; in each of which, one Protestant school was erected, and attached to the Church. A seminary was likewise established for the instruction of native youths of promising abilities, in the Dutch language, as a medium for the acquisition of knowledge which might qualify them for the office of catechists, or of preachers among their own countrymen. Besides several less important works, the Dutch published a considerable portion of the Scriptures in the Tamul or Malabar language, which is spoken in the north of Ceylon; and also in the Cingalese, which is the common language of the island. At the time when these settlements fell into the hands of the English, the troubles of Europe had greatly interrupted the supply of European ministers; and, for some years after that period, the religious interests of the Cingalese Christians appear to have received but little attention from the British government. When their notice was directed to this object, it was found that though the number of those who professed the Gospel was considerable, their knowledge of its doctrine was very trifling, and their acquaintance with its spirit almost none. It is to be feared that, if the missionary exertions of the Portuguese were often marked by violence or duplicity, those of

the Dutch were far from being unexceptionable; since they required a profession of Christianity as an indispensable qualification for office. The natural result was an imposing multitude of converts, with little of the power of the religion which they had embraced. CHAP. IV. 1815.

From these imperfect, and almost abortive proceedings, we turn with satisfaction to the efforts and undertakings of the Danish mission, instituted by the piety of Frederick IV. King of Denmark. By this monarch those great missionaries Ziegenbalg and Plutscho were despatched to the ancient Danish settlement of Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel. The labours of these exemplary men were prompted by the purest zeal, and guided by the most sober discretion; and no difficulty or discouragement could break their perseverance. After a residence of twelve years in India, Ziegenbalg visited Europe, where he was most graciously countenanced, not only by his own sovereign, but by George I. King of England. He also met with great kindness from Archbishop Wake, by whose good offices he was introduced to the notice of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1719, he finished his Tamul version of the Bible, having devoted fourteen years to the work. In 1720, he closed his apostolic labours. His remains, and those of his fellow missionary Grundler, are deposited by the altar of the mission

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It was in the year 1710, that this Society first assisted in the good work, by liberal grants of money, stores, books, and a printing press, and by undertaking the management of such charitable donations as might be entrusted to them, for the support of Protestant missions. Encouraged by the example and the success of Ziegenbalg, and his brethren, Mr. Stevenson, the English chaplain, after some time, formed a native school at Madras; and with a view to the establishment of a mission in that part of the country, the Danish Missionary, Schultze, was placed near

this settlement, under the immediate patronage of the Society in London; and, in 1729, had, in spite of manifold obstructions, succeeded in collecting a respectable native congregation, amounting to about 140 souls. This was the earliest of the English missions in India. In the year 1750, the Governor in Council put them in possession of a church, with a house and premises adjoining, which had been appropriated to the use of the Roman Catholic Portuguese, while Madras was in possession of the French.

In 1737 the foundation of the Protestant mission at Cuddalore was laid by the missionaries Sartorius and Geisler. This has since become one of the chief stations of the Society on the coast of Coromandel. In 1767 the mission church, now in use at Cuddalore, was erected, partly by private subscription, but chiefly by the liberality of the government, which also supported the mission by considerable donations of land. Its funds were further augmented, and its necessities from time to time relieved, by the contributions of charitable individuals, particularly by the liberality of the missionaries Kiernander and Ostervald. In 1800, the church had fallen to decay, and was rebuilt at the sole expense of the missionary Gerickè, who devoted to the purpose the whole allowance which he received from the government for officiating at the Naval Hospital at Madras.

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About twenty miles to the south of Tranquebar stands the sea-port of Negapatam. In 1772 this place appears to have been twice visited by Danish missionaries. In 1782, when it had been taken by the English, Gerickè established a mission there, and, with the consent of the British government, took possession of an excellent church, built by the Dutch government in 1774, and of a small chapel belonging to the Tamul congregation, together with two pieces of burying ground adjoining. It became intimately connected with the Society in 1788, and since that time has continued under their protection. Among its resources may be numbered, an allowance, bequeathed by Gerickè, for the relief of the Protestant poor of the place; and a monthly payment of forty pagodas from the government, for the same purpose. This payment is still continued, and is administered by the Society's missionaries, who report their distribution to the district committee at Madras.

The mission at Trichinopoly was founded by the incomparable Christian Frederick Swartz, whose name it is impossible to mention without pausing, for a moment, in thankfulness to that good Providence which directed him to the field of missionary labour. In that field he toiled for nearly half a century: during which period he exemplified the irresistible power of Christian integrity, and "retrieved the character of Eu-

ropeans from the imputation of general depravity[1]." By those who have the honour of Christianity at heart, it will always be remembered with exultation, that this man—the lowly servant and messenger of Jesus Christ,—was thought by the government, in a most critical juncture of their political affairs in the Mysore, to be the most fit person to be entrusted with a pacific and confidential mission to the court of Hyder; and that his saint-like virtue converted the heathen rajahs of Tanjore into the protectors, and almost the fathers, of the Christian establishments in their dominions. It was by the advice of the Rev. Benjamin Schultze, on his return from India, that this illustrious missionary had girded himself up for the work of his future destination. Having acquired the Tamul language in the celebrated Orphan School at Halle, he embarked, in 1750, with two other missionaries, from England for Tranquebar, under the joint auspices of the college at Copenhagen, and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London.

In 1776, the Trichinopoly mission was more especially recommended by Swartz to the protection of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The result of his application was the establishment of an English school for Eu-

[1] These are the words of Colonel Fullarton (commander of the army in Southern India in 1783), in a letter to the government of Madras.

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ropean children, by the missionaries Huttman and Gerickè, which, however, they proposed to manage, if possible, without imposing any burden on the Society's resources. The number of Christians at Trichinopoly (including natives and mixed descendants of Europeans) appears, in 1792, to have been about 200; in 1807, 330; from 1811 to 1817 about 460, with no considerable fluctuation.

The early proceedings of the missionaries had gradually prepared the way for the extension of the Gospel beyond the limits of the Danish East India Company (to which they at first, in prudence, had confined themselves) and for its introduction into the kingdom of Tanjore. As early as the year 1732, that country had been visited by them, and the result was the establishment of small schools, and some provision for the instruction and pastoral care of the dispersed Christians by itinerant native ministers. About 1769 the Christians of Tanjore were visited by Swartz, where his virtue won the confidence of the rajah, and laid the foundation of that amicable intercourse which has been so signal a blessing to the Christian cause in Southern India; and in 1772 he addressed to the Society, from Tanjore, a statement of his proceedings there. In 1779 the foundation of the mission church was laid, and in 1780 the building was completed, and consecrated by the name of Christ's Church.

In 1784, schools were established by Swartz, at the suggestion of Mr. Sullivan, the resident, both in the Marawa country, and near the fort of Tanjore; the latter with the consent of the rajah, who granted forty pagodas a month for their support. In 1787, Ameer Sing, the immediate successor of the rajah Tuljajee, in compliance with a promise made by his brother, before his decease, to Mr. Swartz, appropriated to the use of the schools, and more especially of the orphans, a village, affording the yearly income of 500 pagodas (200*l.*); and, in the same year, the East India Company directed the government to pay towards the schools, then established, or about to be established, 100*l.* per annum. From this time the mission gradually extended in every direction; and, by donations of money and land, a fund was provided, from which the support of teachers and catechists was defrayed, and chapels and school-rooms were built, at various distances from the central station.

It appears, therefore, that the Society at this time had distinct missions at Madras, Trichinopoly, and Cuddalore: and, when the successes of the French had interrupted all communication with the last of these places, their missionaries formed an establishment at Calcutta also. This mission, however, from various causes was shortly discontinued; and on its abandonment, the Danish missionary sold the church, still known

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by the name of the Mission Church, in Calcutta, to some English gentlemen, who obtained one of the Company's chaplains for its service. The missions in the south of India, were still maintained, with various success, in spite of multiplied difficulties, and continued to extend their influence over a considerable portion of the provinces lying between the latitude of 13° north, and the southern extremity of the peninsula. These were the establishments which, it will be remembered, were recommended by the Society to the especial regard of Bishop Middleton. How faithfully he attended to their claims will be seen hereafter. At the time of his arrival, the native Christians of those missions occupied seven principal stations, Vepery, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly, Cuddalore, Madura, and Ramnad. Some native Protestant Christians were found also, in small numbers, scattered through many of the villages in the south of India. It is supposed that about 23,000 is the number of natives, in those districts, who profess the Protestant faith, and are attached to the Protestant Episcopal government. These were the missions which subsequently called forth the memorable words of Bishop Heber, "Here is the strength of the Christian cause in India."

Some other Protestant societies had, likewise, within the last twenty years, been labouring, with great zeal, but inconsiderable success, for

the propagation of Christianity in Hindostan. Of these the most active was the London Baptist Society, whose missionaries settled themselves at the Danish factory of Serampore, near Calcutta, and applied themselves to the cultivation of the native languages, with a view to the translation of the Holy Scriptures. By their own accounts it would appear that they had engaged in completing such versions in more than twenty different languages. Of these, however, several are only dialects of the same tongue. And, besides, there is great reason to apprehend that the anxiety of these truly pious and disinterested men, for the completion of so good a work, has produced, in many instances, a very hasty and imperfect representation of the original.

It is an awful, and almost overpowering consideration, that while these labours and projects were gathering a few thousands within the fold of the Great Shepherd, the vast mass of the people of India remained still given over to those *strong delusions* which, for ages, had held them in bondage. The whole population of the countries subject to the dominion or the control of the East India Company, and now constituting the diocese of Calcutta, cannot perhaps be very accurately estimated. It is supposed, however, to amount to nearly one hundred millions. Of these, it is probable that about one seventh acknowledge the religion of Mahomet, while the

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rest are votaries of the Brahminical, Janist, or Bhuddist superstitions. Of the Jewish tribes there are, likewise, small remnants scattered over the land, the aggregate numbers of which may, perhaps, be reckoned at 10,000. Of these there are two divisions, known by the distinguishing appellations of the White and the Black Jews. The latter of these have probably been settled in India several ages longer than the former: although they are regarded by their fairer brethren as an inferior, and, comparatively, an impure race[1]. The White Jews date their emigration about A.C. 508, which singularly coincides with the date of a persecution in Persia, whence, most likely, they found their way to India.

The foregoing representation will enable us to enter into the feelings with which the Bishop surveyed the extensive region of duty now assigned to him. He saw spread out before him a harvest-field of immense magnitude; or rather (as he himself illustrated the case at a later period of his residence), a vast extent of seemingly impenetrable jungle, of which he was to commence the clearing, almost by the strength of his single arm. Nothing could well

[1] For some account of the white and black Jews of Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, see Dr. C. Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 221, &c. Ed. 1819.

be more bewildering than the prospect presented to him by the whole state of religion in all its divisions and varieties. The first object that offered itself was the impure and absurd superstition which held the natives in a degrading servitude, and which, unhappily, tended to connect religion, in the eyes of thoughtless strangers, with the notion of every thing contemptible and licentious. Secondly, there was the appalling spectacle of an European society, withdrawn, in a great measure, from the restraints and influences of Christianity, by the want of regular religious ordinances and ministrations; and maintaining so lifeless a profession of the Gospel, as sometimes to leave the idolaters in doubt whether the Europeans had a Deity to worship! Lastly, there was another consideration full of most formidable discouragement to one who felt the establishment of regularity and union to be one grand object towards which his efforts ought to be steadily directed; and this was, that even where Christianity had taken possession of the soil, the absence of all systematic discipline and culture had left it to spring up, with the appearance of a wild and tangling luxuriance. One among the many unhappy consequences of this neglect was, that our holy faith disclosed herself to the natives of Hindostan not with that *form or comeliness*, or with that dignified aspect of unity and con-

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sistency, which should induce them to *desire* and to honour it; but in a condition, which might tempt them to believe, that the God we worship is not the God of order, but the God of anarchy and confusion. This statement, it is earnestly hoped, will not be ascribed to any feeling at all approaching to disrespect towards the various religious denominations, which, independently of the regular clergy, were zealously labouring, in several parts of India, for the advancement of our common Christianity. It is offered purely as a representation of facts, without the knowledge of which, it would be absolutely impossible to comprehend the manifold obstructions and disadvantages, which previous circumstances had placed in the way of the first Protestant Bishop of India.

CHAPTER V.

Bishop Middleton's proceedings for the regulation of the Indian Church—Representations from the Archdeacon of Bombay—Marriage Licenses—Declines the nomination to the Provostship of Fort William College—Scottish Presbyterians—Appointment of Dr. Bryce—His petition on Scotch Marriages—Imperfect definition of Episcopal powers in the Letters Patent—Licensing the Clergy—Regulations of the Governor-General in Council—In part rescinded by the Court of Directors.

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When the Bishop once found himself settled in his own residence in Calcutta, his first care was to ascertain the peculiar and local circumstances of his sacred charge. The official recognition of his ecclesiastical powers was unavoidably delayed by the absence of the Governor-General. In the mean time he proceeded with those arrangements which were clearly pointed out by the letters patent, for the regulation of the three archdeaconries. His first step was to nominate fit persons in each to act as registrars, and to forward to them the necessary official documents. His next was to give institution to his archdeacons, a proceeding expressly enjoined by the patent.

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notwithstanding they were authorised by that instrument "to enter into and possess their offices, by virtue of their appointment from the crown." As institution could not, without great inconvenience, be conferred in the cathedral on the archdeacons of Madras and Bombay, he directed a commission for that purpose to the senior chaplain of those presidencies; and, at the same time, assigned to each of them his appropriate place or seat in the principal church of his respective Presidency. He also appointed certain days, on which it was his desire that the archdeacons should occupy the pulpit; fixing for that purpose, nearly the same days that he had chosen for preaching in his own cathedral. He further requested that, as they had no parochial cure, they would perform such further duty as they might deem advisable. Lastly, he framed such regulations as he thought calculated to facilitate the transaction of business at Madras and Bombay, and directed that all official correspondence between the clergy and their respective governments should pass through the hands of the archdeacons.

From the very first, he entered into free and unreserved correspondence, not only with his archdeacons, but with several of his clergy, being satisfied that nothing could more effectually aid him in the discharge of his obligations, than a confidential intercourse with persons who had

long been resident in India, and who, like himself, were pledged to maintain, or to commend to the eastern world, the faith of Christ, and the holy ordinances of our national Church. From the Archdeacon of Bombay he learned, with deep regret, that there were but five chaplains attached to that presidency; and that, of these, *one only* was at this time resident in India; a deficiency which threw upon the archdeacon himself the duties of a chaplain, in assisting at the Presidency Church, and in attending the King's regiments resident in Bombay and its vicinity. He further represented that throughout the provinces subject to the government of Bombay, there was but a single church; and that, in consequence of this deficiency of ministers and places of worship, the out-stations, military cantonments, and civil residences, were left destitute of the public ordinances and private ministrations of religion; a state of things rendered the more afflicting by the circumstance, that the English residents were found to be generally well-affected towards the Church, and anxious to receive the benefits of her holy offices. Something, it was hoped, might be effected by the Right Honourable Sir Evan Nepean, the governor of Bombay, who had uniformly honoured the cause of Christianity by his personal example, and by his ready co-operation for its advancement. It was under his immediate patronage that the archdeacon

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early prepared a plan for the Christian education of the numerous children of British soldiers and half castes, who had till that time been consigned to a state of miserable ignorance and moral abandonment. In addition to these more crying evils, the archdeacon made known to the Bishop the lesser mischiefs arising from certain irregular practices which prevailed with respect to the celebration of matrimony and the administration of baptism. It appeared that in the absence of clergymen, marriages had been usually celebrated by military officers and civil servants; and that, under the plea of necessity, the sacrament of baptism had been often administered by the hands of laymen.

In reply to these communications, the Bishop expressed the highest satisfaction with the plan for education, which had been adopted at Bombay, on the admirable principles of the National Society, and gladly accepted the office of patron. He further engaged for a liberal subscription annually towards its support. "I feel very much interested," he writes[1] to the archdeacon, "about your school; and I shall be glad to know what you are doing, when you are sufficiently advanced to be doing any thing. I know that these great machines are not easily put into motion!" And then follow some expressions

[1] In a letter dated May 26, 1815.

indicating dissatisfaction at the scantiness of his salary, and which are inserted here for the purpose of shewing, that his uneasiness on this head was a feeling wholly untainted with mercenary or selfish motives. "I will not," he says, "forget to send you a subscription: but, really, the demands upon me here are such, that my expenses tread very closely on the heels of my receipts. *The revenues are too little, if it was expected that I should do much; and too much, if it was intended that I should do nothing.*" With regard to the incorrect proceedings to which the archdeacon had adverted, the Bishop could, at that time, do little more than join in lamenting them, as the almost unavoidable results of an insufficient establishment of clergy. He had himself already witnessed and deplored the same effects at Calcutta, and was deeply sensible of the necessity of reform. On the subject of marriage he could not but feel that the English canon law, which required a license, or the publication of banns, was imperative upon him, and upon his clergy. The establishment of episcopal jurisdiction, he conceived, must be held to supersede the power hitherto assumed by the civil authorities of granting marriage licenses. For the present, however, he thought it best, for various reasons, to content himself with generally exhorting his clergy to the strictest possible conformity with the canons wherever they were not found to be

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clearly inapplicable; reserving to himself the right of exercising his own judgment on such cases, whenever they should be presented to his consideration.

In the month of April, 1815, the Bishop first became fully sensible of the formidable peculiarities of an eastern climate. The attack, however, under which he suffered, was not one that indicated danger. On the contrary, the complaint was regarded by his friends and attendants as a most auspicious circumstance, since it probably saved him from a more alarming malady. In a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, he describes the manifold inflictions of this disorder; which, in truth, appears well fitted to discipline the patience, even though it should preserve the constitution, of the sufferer.

Calcutta, April 29, 1815.

Your letter of the 10th, which I received yesterday, reminded me that I was sadly in arrear in my correspondence with you. But, in truth, I have been overwhelmed with concerns of one kind or another; and what is worse, I have suffered, and am still suffering, very serious inconvenience from what is called the *prickly heat*. This disorder is here a subject of *congratulation*, as it is supposed to be in lieu of a fever; and this is the only view in which it is tolerable. It has ignited my whole frame:

and what with the sensations of pricking, and burning, and itching, and soreness, and lassitude, and irritability, I am little qualified for any thing that requires attention.

The distressing complaint to which the Bishop alludes, continued to harass him for a considerable time after writing the above; and to a degree, which was likely to keep long and fresh in his recollection, his obligations to its *conservative* influence! In the letter to archdeacon Barnes, which has been already adverted to, (dated May 26, 1815,) he says,—"Between three and four weeks have elapsed since I last wrote to you, with a promise that I would write again in a few days: but since that time the complaint I mentioned to you has increased to such a degree, that I have not had a tolerable night's rest, and have been all the day in a state of such irritation and torment, that I have rarely been able to collect myself for half an hour together. My medical attendant has never known the complaint to exist in the same degree. I hope that its violence has abated; though the continuance of the extreme heat of the weather has been much against me. The thermometer, about two o'clock, *in the shade*, varies from 93° to 96°!" His lordship then, in spite of the interruption occasioned by this vexatious disorder, proceeds, at considerable length, to the discussion of various important

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matters; and, among them, to that source of inextricable embarrassment, the unsettled state of the matrimonial law in India.—"I am still unable to say any thing decisive upon the subject of marriages. The Supreme Court are certainly empowered by their charter 'to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the same manner as it is exercised in the diocese of London.' These are the words: and they construe this to extend to the granting of *marriage licenses*. I believe it has nothing to do with it. It extends, no doubt, to the decision of matrimonial causes, divorce, &c.; but as to granting of licenses, it was never thought of here till within a few years; when it occurred to some of the officers of the court, that it might be a source of emolument. The court acted under their charter a great many years without making this discovery. For my own part, I see no means of settling this question, but by reference to the government, and to legal opinion, at home. Indeed the whole question of marriage law in India is involved in so much uncertainty, that something must be declared authoritatively on the subject; and an affair is now proceeding which is likely to bring on the discussion. The daughter of a gentleman here wishes to marry a young man in college. The Governor-General withholds his consent. The Supreme Court, in consequence, refuses a license; for their *licenses* are never granted,

but when *leave* is already given;—and the parent, therefore, insists on the publication of banns. The clergyman must, of course, comply, unless the government will save him harmless, (for the question will be tried,) and how they can do this, it is not easy to see. At any rate, they will often be called upon for such indemnifications, when the door has once been opened. It is possible the business will be got over in the present instance; but it can only be a temporary expedient. As to the marriages of young men in college, there must be a check somewhere. And as to the publication of banns, it would be merely nugatory with respect to young men whose parents and guardians are at home. There could be no use in publishing banns, where they could not be forbidden; and, under the colour of a legal proceeding, the writers would be ruined!"

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One other passage is here added from this letter, because it shews the extreme anxiety of the Bishop that our religion should not be exhibited to the natives of India under a contemptible and penurious exterior:

"Of your church at Surat, I cannot speak with very high commendation; it will certainly accommodate a good many persons, but nothing like a thousand, supposing them to be crowded together as close as they can sit. I do not think these barn-like edifices are very honourable

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those who possess the revenue of this country. Every chapel should have at least a cupola with a bell, and every church a spire or tower. It is quite idle to say that men may worship God any where: they every where require to be assisted by the power of association; and, in the midst of heathens, they should exceed a little the ordinary measure of expense to make religion visible. What must the worshipper in mosques and pagodas, think of men who, possessing all the resources of the country, and pretending to a better faith, worship their Maker in buildings not distinguishable from barracks or godorons?"

From a letter of the Bishop's to archdeacon Barnes, some months later, (namely, October 20, 1815) it appears that the plan of the church at Surat had undergone a revision, which was entirely to the Bishop's satisfaction. "I am exceedingly pleased," he says, "with the plan of your *chapel* at Surat: it is really as neat and appropriate a building as I ever saw; and I wish you would express, as opportunity may offer, my perfect satisfaction, that the government has been pleased to attend to my suggestions. I would observe that perhaps it may be as well, from certain associations, to substitute a weather-cock for the cross; and, certainly, the seats should be placed across the church, and not lengthwise, upon the obvious principle, that people hear better with both ears than with one;

besides, that the attention is kept up by seeing the person who addresses them. You will be pleased to hear that, including a chapel at the gaol here, Surat chapel will be one of four now building in India; pray direct that it be placed with the altar to the East.". The English reader may possibly smile at these precautions, especially the last. In India, however, it appears that they were indispensable. In a subsequent letter to the archdeacon, dated October, 1818, the Bishop felt it necessary to repeat this caution with respect to this chapel, which was then at last to be built: "Pray request Mr. Carr," he says, "to take care that it be built in the proper direction, east and west; so that the altar be eastward. The architects in India seem rather to affect variety than uniformity in this particular. There has been sad irregularity!"

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In the autumn of this year (1815) the supreme government forwarded to the Bishop, an extract from a despatch of the Court of Directors, authorising them to appoint the Bishop of Calcutta, provost of the college of Fort William, but with the express injunction that no additional emolument was to be assigned to him, it being a part of his episcopal duty. This institution, it is well known, was originally projected by the Marquis Wellesley, for the education of young men destined for the civil service; and was actually established, under his government, in 1800, upon

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a scale of almost magnificent liberality. After it had flourished for nearly seven years, it was greatly reduced by the government at home, who, professing fully to appreciate the enlightened views which led to the foundation, nevertheless objected to the enormous expense of the establishment. The condition in which the Bishop found it on his arrival is described[1] by him as totally at variance with all our notions of a collegiate institution. He says that, "when the young civilians arrived, if they have no friends to receive them, they go into the writers' buildings, which is one side of a large square in the heart of Calcutta. They attend, or ought to attend, lectures in the necessary Asiatic languages; they neither dine together, nor attend chapel nor church, nor wear any common dress, nor are within the walls, nor liable to certain hours; they are just as much a college, as the medical pupils at any of the London hospitals, except that they live under the same roof, that idleness may be more contagious." He states it to be his opinion, that, with *some* expense, the college might be made a noble and effective institution; and that, with the least encouragement, he was ready to draw up a plan for that purpose. "In the mean time," he adds, "it is the wish of the court that I should preserve the morals of the young men, and

[1] In a letter to the Author, dated August 22, 1815.

prevent their running into debt, and this, without any alteration of the system; which is much the same as if the Bishop of London were enjoined to preserve the morals of the young lawyers who reside in Lincoln's Inn!" Such being the state of the establishment, the Bishop found himself under the necessity of declining the honor designed for him by the court; which he accordingly did, by the following letter addressed to the governor-general in council.

My Lord, Calcutta, Nov. 13, 1815.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 13th ultimo, intimating the wish of the Honourable Court that I should take on myself the office of provost of the College at Fort William, and archdeacon Loring that of vice-provost, with a view to the establishment of a better course of discipline among the students. I am ready to acknowledge that I left England under the impression that I might, by taking an active part in the superintendence of the junior civil servants of the Honourable Company usefully employ any leisure afforded me from the discharge of my immediate and proper duties; and should be acting in conformity with the views which I had generally proposed to myself in accepting my appointment; and my zeal for the college would not have abated from consideration that

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such services, however important, were to be merely gratuitous. I cannot, therefore, suppress my disappointment at finding, that what is here called the college is nothing more than a body of students, either dispersed about Calcutta, or residing together in the most populous part of the city, not distinguished either by academical dress, by the use of a common hall, by attendance on divine service, by the observance of stated hours, by living together within the same walls, or by any circumstances which their collegiate designation led me to expect, excepting their required attendance on lectures in Oriental languages, and an annual examination to ascertain their proficiency. The introduction of discipline by the nomination of a provost over a body thus imperfectly constituted, and without any of the aids which experience has shewn to be indispensable in all other academical institutions, appears to me to be so manifestly impracticable, that I should scarcely imagine the Honourable Court to have been fully in possession of the circumstances, when they did me the honour to suppose that any services of mine could be availing. At any rate, I must observe that neither does my acquaintance with the English universities and with the Honourable Company's college at Haileybury, nor my conception of the duties which the title of provost usually implies, enable

me to discover how the superintendence of such an officer can have any place in the present state of the establishment. At the same time, I should be among the first to rejoice that a college for the use of the junior civil servants were really established in or near Calcutta, or even that the present establishment were placed on such a footing as to make the idea of discipline not altogether chimerical. Such an institution appears to me to be the *great desideratum* in India. And I beg leave to assure your Excellency in council, that if government in its wisdom can devise any means by which it may be obtained, my best services shall be cheerfully contributed, both in its formation, and in the maintenance of its discipline and interests when it shall be established.

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I have, &c.

T. F. CALCUTTA.

To those who may contemplate attentively the particulars which have been already stated, it cannot appear surprising, if the history of the first Bishop of Calcutta, should be little more than an exhibition of the various difficulties which grew out of his singular and untried position. There was, however, one peculiar cause of embarrassment which may be said to have been in readiness to encounter him, at the very moment of his landing in his diocese; and which [illegible]

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remarkable to be passed over in silence, as it threatened, for a time, to convert the episcopal establishment, which was designed to be a measure of unity and concentration, into a signal for disunion and discord. Among the various denominations of Christians settled at Calcutta and the other presidencies, were many most respectable members of the Scottish Church. Up to that period, however, they had nothing resembling an establishment in India, and had, without any apparent dissatisfaction, conformed to the English mode of worship; and some there were among them who did not scruple to avow their preference for it. Most certain it is, that no petitions had been presented by them, from any part of India, for a separate establishment, or provision in favour of their own peculiar worship and discipline. The projected appointment of a Bishop of India, seems, nevertheless, to have suddenly revived, in certain quarters, the memory of the Presbyterian discipline; and, with it, to have excited a resolution to assert, in its behalf, a community of honour and privilege with the Church of England. Towards the close of the discussions in Parliament[1] on the renewal of the Company's charter, some Scottish members of the House of Commons proposed the insertion of a clause, authorising "the appointment of a

[1] See debates in the Commons, July 2 and 13, 1813.

clergyman of the Scottish persuasion, at each presidency, with a salary of 1000*l.* per annum, each." It was replied[2], that for the legislature to sanction any other clerical establishment than that of the episcopal Church of England, would involve a principle highly impolitic, and one which might lead to misunderstanding in all the British colonies; namely, that every establishment of the English Church in our dependencies, must be accompanied by an establishment for the Kirk of Scotland also. It was accordingly decided that no such legal sanction could be given to the Presbyterian worship. The Scottish Kirk, being thus unrecognised in India by any legislative act, was, of course, left precisely in the same condition with every other form of dissent from the national scheme of ecclesiastical polity. This view of the matter, however, does not appear to have been altogether satisfactory to the honourable Court of Directors: and, as the charter had left them in possession of the revenues and the patronage of India, they resolved to exert this general power in the endowment of Presbyterian churches, and the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers, at each of the three presidencies. The effect of this resolution was to place the Scottish clergy in India, on the same footing, in the public estimation, with the E[illegible]

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[1] See Lord Castlereagh's Speech, July 2 and 13, 1813.

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chaplains. They each produced similar documents for their appointment, drew the same incomes from the government treasury, maintained the same correspondence with the civil and local functionaries, and, therefore, appeared to the public, (who made no strict enquiries into legal rights), as invested with the same authority. These impressions were confirmed by the proceedings of the general assembly in Edinburgh, which passed a resolution, recognising the Scottish Church in India, as a branch of their own, and empowering the members of the Presbyterian communion to hold kirk sessions at each of the presidencies, and even to elect elders, as representatives to that assembly. The effect of all these measures on the public mind was, no doubt, further strengthened by the remarkable fact, that the very same ship which conveyed the first bishop to govern the English Church at Calcutta, took out, likewise, a Scottish divine (Dr. Bryce) to found a Presbyterian establishment at the same place.

Under circumstances so favourable to the cause he had to represent, it is, perhaps, not very surprising that the Scottish divine should lose sight of the otherwise obvious distinction between an establishment paid by the local government, and acknowledged by his own spiritual superiors, and an establishment which had, exclusively, received the sanction of the British

legislature. Unhappily, however, his zeal and confidence were displayed in a manner by no means remarkable for temperance or discretion. He had actually applied to the Bishop for the alternate use of the cathedral. As this, of course, could not be granted, he had, for a short time, the use of the college-hall; and in that place delivered his first sermon in January 1815. This composition he immediately printed, with the title of "A Sermon preached at the opening of *the Church of Calcutta!*" The main object of this discourse was to set forth the superior excellence of the Presbyterian polity. In the execution of his task, the preacher wholly dropped the question, what form of government was established by the Apostles. He, moreover, contrived almost to identify episcopacy with popery; and did not scruple to represent the Church of England, as still grievously infected with the corruptions of the Church of Rome. Such were the doctrines for the promulgation of which the Presbyterian minister had the nerve to ask for the pulpit of the cathedral church of Calcutta.

It is not to be supposed that proceedings of this nature could be viewed with indifference by Bishop Middleton, more especially, as many circumstances seemed to indicate that they corresponded with the views and feelings entertained in certain quarters at home; and that

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the interests of the Scottish Church were somewhat more favourably regarded by the Honourable Court of Directors than those of the episcopal establishment. The members of the latter communion, as we have already seen, were insufficiently supplied with chaplains; and few sacred edifices were erected for their accommodation. Even in the capital of British India, the cathedral was, as yet, the only English church belonging to the government; and the European troops in Fort William assembled for divine service at their barrack rooms, notwithstanding repeated applications for a suitable building for divine service. On the other hand, it was observable that two presbyterian chaplains were early despatched for each of the congregations at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; that churches were immediately ordered, for presbyterian worship, on the most liberal scale, to be ornamented with conspicuous and lofty spires; and what was still more remarkable, these churches were to be furnished with organs; even though (as the Bishop observed) John Knox should awake at the sound! The first stone of St. Andrew's church, at Calcutta, was accordingly laid on the 30th of November, 1815, being St. Andrew's day; the ceremony was attended by nearly the whole of the settlement, partly in the character of North Britons, partly in that of Freemasons; and, that nothing might

be wanting to complete the solemnity, the Bishop of Calcutta actually received an invitation to attend, with the offer of a seat in the tent provided for the occasion; a mark of respect which, it is needless to add, he most respectfully declined.

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That the necessity for these measures was by no means extremely urgent, had already appeared from the long and contented acquiescence of the Scottish residents in the services of our church. It was afterwards shewn, still more incontestably by the fact, that when the new congregation was formed in Calcutta, it withdrew no more than 100 members from our communion, and that in the other presidencies the defection was still more insignificant; notwithstanding the enormous assertion which had been made in the House of Commons, that the Presbyterians in India outnumbered the Episcopalians in the proportion of two to one[1]! Without the slightest disrespect, therefore, for the Scottish forms of discipline and worship,—without the smallest disposition to question the motives which prompted these efforts for their revival,—it may surely be permitted to every friend to our common Christianity to lament the inevitable tendency of such a proceeding. It should never

[1] Mr. Horner's speech, July 2, 1813.

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be forgotten that, (next to the suspicion that the Europeans are generally destitute of all real religion), the grand impediment the Gospel has to contend with among idolaters, arises from the multiplicity of shapes under which our *visible* religion presents itself to their notice. Their observation uniformly is, that they should think much better of Christianity, if there were not quite so many different kinds of it! It is, therefore, deeply to be regretted that the introduction of one additional variety should have been thought indispensable; and this, too, precisely at a moment when it was of the greatest importance to rally round the new Christian establishment all the religious energy that was not adversely pre-occupied.

About the middle of May, 1815, a circumstance occurred which threatened to realize the Bishop's worst anticipations of embarrassment from the claims of the Scottish Kirk. It accidentally came to his knowledge, and that of the clergy, that the members of that community had transmitted a petition to Parliament, praying, among other matters, that marriages in India by Scottish ministers might have equal validity with marriages celebrated in the English Church. As yet the Bishop had taken no public notice of the somewhat intemperate proceedings of Dr. Bryce; but he now felt himself called upon to resist further encroachment on the rights of the

Church over which he presided. The solemnizing of marriages by the Scottish clergy might not be objectionable, provided the concession were carefully limited to the marriage of persons who might be, *bonâ fide*, members of the Presbyterian Church. But if the concession went beyond this, it is evident that the privileges of the English establishment would be impaired; and moreover, that the peace of families might be seriously endangered by an irrespective celebration of matrimony, according to rites not sanctioned by the church to which the parties should belong. Instances, indeed, had actually occurred, in which, on refusal of a license for want of the necessary consent of parents or of guardians, minors had obtained their object, without delay or difficulty, on application to the minister of another communion. At the Bishop's desire, archdeacon Loring requested, by letter, "to be favoured with a sight of the petition, and the names subscribed to it; some of the objects of which might affect the rights of our clergy." The reply of Dr. Bryce was, that compliance was impossible; the petition and its duplicate having been some time dispatched to England. The archdeacon then requested that, *if no copy was reserved in Calcutta*, he might be favoured with information as to the prayer of the petition, and the persons to whom it was addressed. The answer of Dr. Bryce protested that the petition

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had, properly, no reference to ecclesiastical matters, but purely to civil rights; that it was addressed to the House of Commons, by 200 Presbyterians and members of the Church of Scotland, and prayed that the right of being married after the forms of their own Church, might be placed beyond a doubt. On this, the Bishop desired the archdeacon to call together such of the clergy as happened to be in Calcutta; and by them, accordingly, a counter-petition was framed, expressing regret for the want of more full information relative to the contents of the Scottish petition,—praying that the law regarding matrimony might not be hastily altered,—and representing the confusion which must unavoidably attend "the hitherto untried experiment of two churches, equally accredited in the same country, and fully recognised by the same law." Neither of these petitions was, in fact, presented to Parliament; but the subject having been taken into consideration by the authorities at home, it was deemed advisable to pass a bill authorizing the Scottish ministers at each presidency, to solemnize matrimony, in certain instances, and where the parties made a written declaration of their being members of the Presbyterian Church.

It will easily be imagined that occurrences of this description were not peculiarly animating or consolatory to Bishop Middleton. They seemed

to portend a class of difficulties perplexing even beyond any thing that he had been taught to expect; and to indicate, as he himself expresses it, that, in the course of years, "half the settlement might have interests and objects in which the bishop cannot participate." He was naturally apprehensive, that either the distant stations must be provided with Presbyterian chaplains, or that the want of them might lead to the abandonment of all religious ordinances; and that thus Christianity must inevitably suffer either from the discord, or the neglect, of those who made profession of it. Divisions, indeed, he had been prepared to find; and he accepted the preferment with a distinct anticipation of their difficulties. In such divisions, however, as had existed previously to his arrival, he met with no obstacles which prudence and resolution might not confidently encounter, since they were not connected with any settled principle or feeling of alienation from the Established Church. "But here," he observes, "something is set up against me which I cannot reach. Its opposition is not levelled at any particular tenet, but at my very function and appointment; so that explanation and conciliation are rendered absolutely impossible." Had he been fully aware that embarrassments of this peculiar nature awaited him, it is probable, he intimates, that they might altogether have deterred him from accepting the

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bishopric. "You will judge," he adds, "from this statement, that my situation is not a very easy one; and yet, I am neither depressed in spirit, nor at all discouraged. I am as indefatigable, as if my labours were crowned with complete success, and all the world applauded my endeavours. And yet, in the prevailing apathy of the people, it matters little, *in that point of view*, whether the Bishop labours incessantly or does nothing. No man gets any credit in India, or is remembered three months after he leaves it. All his *earthly* encouragement must be looked for in England [1]."

Distressing, however, as these circumstances were, the more immediate source of inconvenience to Dr. Middleton was the extremely imperfect definition of his powers in the letters patent which assigned to him the diocese of Calcutta. This was a difficulty which, under all the circumstances, it might scarcely have been practicable for the government to obviate. It was, perhaps, beyond human foresight to frame a perfect set of provisions for the application of British episcopacy to a state of society so different, in its form and elements, from that of England, and so little prepared for the reception of ecclesiastical authority. That the crown should invest the new prelate with

[1] Letter to a friend in England, dated Dec. 8, 1815.

unlimited and discretionary power was more than could reasonably be expected. To assign exactly the proper extent of authority, would imply a more perfect knowledge of local circumstances, interests, and feelings, than any thing short of experience could supply. The territories of the Company, it must always be remembered, are not, like that of Great Britain or her colonies, parcelled out into parishes, each under the spiritual care of a local minister, standing in a distinct and well defined relation to his diocesan. In India there could, of course, be nothing strictly analogous to a parochial clergy. The only ecclesiastics known there were the chaplains, who (as we have seen) owed their appointments to the Court of Directors, and who were in the habits of regarding the governor of their presidency as the only immediate local authority to which they were amenable. The materials, therefore, for the construction of an ecclesiastical polity, at all resembling that of this country, appeared in India to be almost entirely wanting. It must, consequently, have been a task of no ordinary perplexity to frame an instrument, which should invest a spiritual governor with the precise powers which were demanded by so anomalous a situation. It must, however, be allowed, that, under these difficult circumstances, his majesty's government can by no means be charged with

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any rash excess of confidence towards the head of the Indian Church!

From the tenor of the letters patent, it appears that his episcopal authority was to extend over all "the territories subject to the government of the East India Company;" and that he was to exercise "full ecclesiastical power over all chaplains and ministers of the Church of England," to whom he was further directed to "grant licenses to officiate." But, as he was to have a diocese without a parochial clergy, the vague and general language of the instrument still left it doubtful to what extent, and in what manner, his authority was to be exercised in licensing the clergy. The territories of the Company, it will be remembered, are apportioned under the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; each of the two latter having its distinct governor and council, with full control over all matters within their respective governments, subject only in particular points, to the governor-general. To each presidency a distinct body of chaplains was attached; of whom, those doing duty at civil stations were accustomed to receive their appointments and their orders from the governor in council, and those at military stations from the general commanding the army.

Previously to the regular exercise of such powers as were confided to the Bishop, it was

necessary that the transfer of all ecclesiastical authority to himself should be officially promulgated throughout the three presidencies. And as this act would involve some considerations of great importance and delicacy, it was deemed advisable by the vice-president in council, at Fort William, to await the return of the governor-general from Nepaul to Calcutta. In consequence of this unavoidable delay, it was not until December, 1815, that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction was formally notified to the public. In the preparation of this act, it of course became necessary to consider what was intended by the term of "*licensing the clergy.*" It was obvious that the *license* here contemplated could not be a general license to read prayers and preach throughout the diocese of Calcutta; such a license not being conformable to the ecclesiastical law, which the Bishop was directed to take for his guide. It was therefore reasonable to conclude, that the proper effect of the Bishop's license would be to place the clergy, so far as circumstances would permit, in a condition similar to that which is conferred in England by institution. "The intended effect of licensing a clergyman," says the Bishop in his communication on this subject to the supreme government, dated June 19, 1815, "is to place him under the jurisdiction of his diocesan, and, at the same time, to give him a

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legal title to his cure. It renders him exclusively amenable to the bishop's authority, and makes the exercise of that authority necessary towards his removal. But this is not all. Every clergyman, previously to his being licensed, takes an oath of canonical obedience to the bishop and his successors; and canonical obedience is understood to extend to all matters connected with canonical duties." "The clergy of a diocese," he adds, "whether presented by the crown, by chartered companies, by individuals, or collated by the bishop, fall precisely under the same jurisdiction, and enter into the same engagement; and the case cannot," he conceives, "be different in India."—"With the bishop rests all the responsibility connected with the conduct of the clergy."

The official answer to the above communication was delayed till the Earl of Moira's return to Calcutta. On the first of November it was replied, that "his Excellency in council concurred in the anxiety expressed by his lordship, for carrying into effect the objects contemplated by the legislature in providing an episcopal establishment for British India, and that orders had accordingly been issued for placing the clergy under his immediate control. His Excellency, however, observed, that owing to the non-advertence to the circumstance of there being no parochial clergy, an omission had arisen of a

definition of his lordship's powers, in a material point. As the case then stood, the clergy attached to the churches in Calcutta were under the control of the governor-general in council; those in quarters receiving their orders immediately from the commander-in-chief," (a similar rule prevailing at the other presidencies) " his lordship's functions would therefore be confined to the superintendence over the moral conduct of those individuals. His authority would consequently be exercised only in the unpleasant part of its character, that is to say, in censure or inhibition, where misconduct might require it; while the pleasing duty of giving to persons deserving distinction, preferable stations, would be withheld from his lordship. The governor-general in council, therefore, with a view to free his lordship's functions from so invidious a check, and to remove the obvious objection arising from a concurrent jurisdiction, was pleased to resolve that the nomination of chaplains of the united Church of England and Ireland to particular stations, should, thereafter, originate with his lordship; and he was requested to communicate, accordingly, to the local governments of the respective presidencies all such arrangements as he might think proper to make, in order that the necessary instructions for the issue of pay and allowances to the chaplains, at the respective stations to which they should be severally

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appointed, might be expedited in the usual manner[1]. His Excellency was further pleased to direct, that all clergymen appointed in future to the situation of chaplain, should, immediately on their arrival in India, report themselves to the Lord Bishop, or, in his absence, to the archdeacon of their respective presidencies. A complete compilation of the existing rules and orders for the guidance of the several chaplains was to be transmitted for his lordship's information, and for the purpose of enabling him to prepare such new regulations as he might deem expedient. The Bishop was, lastly, informed, that the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay had been requested to adopt the necessary measures for giving full effect to the authority vested in his lordship by the letters-patent, and by those resolutions of the governor-general in council."

The foregoing paper is a monument of the liberality and wisdom, which enabled his Excellency the governor-general to perceive, that nothing could be more unfavourable to the useful exercise of the Bishop's spiritual office, than to hold it up merely as a terror to evil-doers, and to strip it of the power of encouraging desert by

[1] The salaries attached to particular stations varied; and it was therefore necessary that the pay-offices should be apprised of the changes in the locations of the clergy. The power of making a settled allowance for a station rested with the government of each presidency.

suitable recompense and promotion. Here, however, it was that the Bishop had to deplore that such insufficient provision had been made for the independence and dignity of the episcopal office, as to leave it without protection against adverse views and interests. The Court of Directors (as may now be properly mentioned, by anticipation) made no objection to that part of the regulations which assigned to the Bishop a superintendence over matters of official routine, and entitled him to receive from his archdeacons a certificate that all was regularly done which fell within his cognizance,—(an authority which peculiarly belonged to him by the very nature of his office; and by the express words of the letters patent,)—but they maintained, that the privilege of originating the appointment of each chaplain to a particular station would be an encroachment on the patronage of government; and they accordingly sent, in 1818, a peremptory dispatch, (which the India Board did not deem it proper to intercept,) calling on the government in India to rescind their resolution, and deciding that the chaplains should be promoted by seniority. They would not even consent to leave to the Bishop the power of selecting the ablest for the pulpit of his own cathedral. They gave, indeed, as the patent required, a general injunction to the government to co-operate with the ecclesiastical authorities; but accompanied

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it with restrictions which threatened to reduce the episcopal office to comparative insignificance.

In all these proceedings there was nothing, perhaps, that might not have been reasonably expected. It is hardly to be imagined that any body of men should readily consent to the supposed reduction of their own influence. Experience is constantly teaching them how necessary the possession of such influence must always be to the successful administration of great public interests; and the transfer of any portion of it to other hands, is a measure, the expediency of which may appear too doubtful, to overcome the various motives which counsel an adherence to the existing state of things. But, however natural might be this resolution of the Honourable Court, it must always be lamented by those who are anxious for the honour and efficacy of our episcopal establishment in India: and this regret must be deepened by the consideration that the surrender of patronage would, in this instance, have been but an insignificant sacrifice on the part of the local governments, while it would have conferred immense advantage on the cause of religion, and would have been more in union with the general practice of government in other departments.

CHAPTER VI.

Lectures on the Litany—Character as a Preacher—Free-school in Calcutta—Bible Society—Formation of Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—His prospects in the extension of Christianity in India—Improvement in the religious faith and practice of Europeans—Education of half-castes—Letter to Mr. Ward—First Confirmation in Calcutta—Primary Visitation in the Cathedral—Abstract of the Bishop's Charge—Letter to Mr. Norris—Conference with Rammohun Roy—Return of Dr. Ward to England.

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WHILE surrounded with these several difficulties, which seemed to impede his usefulness, Bishop Middleton continued to devote himself with ardour and constancy to the task of exploring and of cultivating the field which was clearly open to him. He preached in his cathedral frequently, and on all great occasions; and that his people might be brought to entertain worthy conceptions of the devotional formularies of the Church, he commenced a series of lectures on what appears to have been his favourite portion of them, namely, her beautiful and solemn litany. Those lectures always attracted a numerous and attentive audience; and the Bishop had the

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satisfaction of hearing that their usefulness was unquestionable. As a preacher, it must be remembered, he was powerfully impressive. His personal presence was unusually commanding; his voice clear and sonorous; his style plain and masculine, and most frequently argumentative. His discourses were decidedly superior to those which had commonly been delivered in the cathedral, and were admirably adapted to the intelligent and educated classes which, for the most part, formed his congregations. He was always listened to with profound and earnest attention, as a sound and forcible expositor of the truths of the Gospel.

Among the first objects of his care, was the free-school at Calcutta, an institution of noble capacities, but at that time in lamentable need of reform. He took upon himself the office of its patron; he established monthly meetings of its governors; he placed it under the superintendence of a master from the National Society in England; he projected annual examinations of the scholars, at which he presided in person, and distributed the prizes with his own hand; and; by his request it was, that the school was honoured, on those occasions, by the attendance of many of the public functionaries. By this system of wise encouragement, the establishment was speedily brought to a state of such distinguished credit and usefulness, that a native was

impelled to express his approbation of it, in the very unusual form of a pecuniary donation, amounting to 500 rupees[1]. The orphan-school for 700 half-caste children, was another institution which experienced the benefit of his lordship's early protection, and which, at the request of the governor-general, he undertook to superintend in the character of its visitor.

With regard to the various religious institutions of Calcutta, the Bishop had a course of considerable intricacy before him. It was not at all surprising that, in a community which had been, till that period, placed beyond the local and natural influences of the Established Church, there should have arisen a multitude of independent associations for benevolent and pious objects, whose members were unconscious of any thing, either in their form or essence, which should disqualify them for the support of Christians of every denomination, whether members of the Church or not. Of these the first in magnitude and importance was the Bible Society, embracing, as it did, many names of respectability in Calcutta. It might reasonably be expected that his lordship would be invited to join this institution; and some emotions of surprise may at first, probably, have been occasioned

[1] Something above 60*l.*

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by his declining the proposal. His refusal, however, though firm and steady, was conveyed in a manner fitted to mitigate every feeling of jealousy or offence. It was grounded simply on the persuasion that, under all existing circumstances, the plans of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge promised more beneficial results, for the same object, than any other which could be devised; and that the office of president of a committee in union with that body presented the most appropriate and promising sphere of usefulness to a bishop of the Church of England. The general designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge appeared also to be more adapted than those of any other society to meet the wants of the clergy, and to promote the cause of Christianity, in connection with the establishment. At this time prayer-books and tracts were much more needed even than copies of the Holy Scriptures. So urgent was the want of elementary books for the various schools, that the Bishop had made exertions to procure one or two of those on the list of the Society to be reprinted in Calcutta, for their immediate use, notwithstanding the ruinous expense of typography in India. To the formation of a diocesan committee of this Society, his lordship accordingly addressed himself with the utmost promptitude. His design had some

impediments to encounter at the outset. The constitution of the Society, it was suggested, was too exclusive to be suited to the state of public opinion in Calcutta, while its objects were sufficiently various and comprehensive to excite a general feeling of jealousy and alarm. All these difficulties, however, gradually vanished before the address and energy of the Bishop. A short account of the Society was speedily printed and circulated by him; other necessary steps were taken for the establishment of the committee, which was, consequently, formed in May, 1815, and commenced its proceedings under the best possible auspices. In a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, dated the 26th of the same month, the Bishop says, "We have had our primary meeting, and our resolutions all passed with entire unanimity. Our members are already thirty-six, and many more may be expected to drop in. I have no fear for our strength. The point at which I aim is to proceed quietly. We have no vice-presidents, and the meetings are at my house . . . . Our Society, by the blessing of Providence, may hope to become a most powerful engine of good. It requires only care in the management. I mean to attend to it very closely." Again, in a letter on the 31st of the same month, he adds, "Nothing but misrepresentation can hurt us. Here, we are proceeding admirably

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well. We make no parade, and we publish nothing. Our immediate objects are Europeans and half-castes: and we shall avoid every thing which can reasonably excite apprehension." On the 26th of the following June, his report is equally encouraging:—"We are remitting to London about 650*l.*; two-thirds of which will be returned in books, one third being the property of the Parent Society . . . . Our immediate object, when we receive our books, will be to supply barracks, cantonments, schools, and hospitals, with bibles, prayer books, and useful tracts. We have a prodigious field before us, and may accomplish incalculable good without looking beyond the Europeans." Once more—"The rule I have laid down is, that we make no parade, and keep clear of the newspapers; for though we affect not secresy, our true policy is to avoid any thing which can alarm the most timid; I do not mean among the natives, *for nothing that we could do would alarm them!*"

It was a part of the proceedings of this committee, that a copy of their resolutions should be transmitted to the archdeacons of Madras and Bombay, with a request that they would take such steps as they might deem expedient for the formation of district committees at those presidencies. At Madras, where the operations of the Society had long been known, Archdeacon Mousley succeeded immediately in forming a

committee, with every prospect of efficacy and success. It was established on the 21st of August, 1815, the archdeacon himself being the president. At Bombay, the friends of the Church had recently co-operated with so much liberality in support of the education society, that Archdeacon Barnes thought it might be advisable to abstain from urging the establishment of a committee at that presidency until the following year, when the Bishop was expected in that quarter of India on his visitation. CHAP. VI. 1815.

It was by measures of this prudent, unostentatious character, that the Bishop hoped to give life to the profession of Christianity in India. And he had the gratification of finding his views so liberally seconded by the affluent and respectable classes, that, in February, 1816, he was able to announce to a correspondent in England, that members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were then to be found all over India, from Delhi to Cape Comorin. His proceedings appear to have been prompted by one intense conviction, which, to the last moment of his life, retained its full possession of his mind; namely, that little is effectually to be done in India for the cause of Christianity, without first bringing the European inhabitants much more generally, and more perceptibly, under its influence. The native mind he found in a condition of greater religious apathy than could have been imagined

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by one who had not personally witnessed it. The attachment of the populace to their immemorial superstitions he perceived to be nearly immoveable, indeed, but still, inert and unimpassioned. He saw, therefore, much less reason than many others to apprehend that the greatest activity of operation in Christian societies would awaken the fears or arm the zeal of the listless and ignorant idolaters. "As to alarm among the natives," he says, "I am not aware that there can be any ground for it, unless the natives objected to reform or improvement among our own people. All whom I converse with hold a very different language. They seem almost as much shocked with the little attention paid by us to such subjects, as we can be. As to any ulterior views of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, they *must* be so remote that it will be quite time enough to discuss them when they are developed. We have work enough for years to come, in schools, barracks, hospitals, and prisons, and among those who have no religion at all, without interfering with any species of superstition; and these are the objects which I have in view, and to which I shall endeavour to confine the attention of the committees [1]." The cause of the Gospel had in truth much more to fear from

[1] In a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, dated 20th October, 1815.

the practical atheism of the European, than from the bigotry of the languid Hindoo. However degraded by the yoke of his own faith, the humblest native would secretly exult in his own superiority above a society of outcasts, who, whatever might be their rank or power, appeared often to be without a creed, and almost without a God. And he would naturally be disposed to repel, as the excess of hypocrisy, all attempts to convert him to a faith, which appeared to be scorned and trampled on by so many of its professors. CHAP. VI. 1815.

Some encouragement, indeed, his lordship derived from the belief that these impediments to the diffusion of the Christian faith were gradually, but regularly, subsiding. There were, still, indeed, some remains of a generation of Europeans, whose misfortune it was to be transplanted to India at a time when religion seemed scarcely to be regarded by their countrymen there as an element necessary to the constitution or the preservation of society. Consigned from boyhood to a new and distant scene, where the influence of Christian institutions or Christian example were scarcely felt, they inevitably lost their religious sensibility. The only devotions they beheld around them, were calculated to make the very name of piety contemptible. And thus it was that they, almost virtually, degenerated into a race of confirmed scorners; and this utter dissolution of religious principle was, in many

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instances, followed by a corresponding looseness of personal morality. Of individuals, however, thus apparently unmolested by serious thoughts of righteousness, temperance, or judgment to come, the number was, from various causes, constantly diminishing: and it was the first object of the Bishop's anxiety to take advantage of the favourable turn. Among the resources which presented themselves for preserving and fostering the Christianity of his own countrymen, and for extending the tutelary influence of the Church, a strict connection with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, appeared to him to be one of the most promising. The designs of that Society were adapted to bring into salutary and regulated action the best feelings and soundest principles of Englishmen, without offering any dangerous encouragement to the hopes of adventurous and precipitate benevolence.

His keen and watchful observation soon led him further to the belief, that the general dispersion of the Scriptures among the natives, however admirable for its grandeur and beneficence of design, was destined to experience a very serious disappointment. This persuasion was founded, not merely on the unavoidable imperfection of a multitude of hasty translations, but on the incapacity of the native mind, in its present state, for extracting the rudiments of true religion from the mere perusal of the Scrip-

tures, in the most perfect version. Their intellects were in a degree of childhood, which would *literally* require *a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ,* even if they were not pre-occupied by their own evil superstitions. In their present mental infancy, the Bible itself would only bewilder and oppress them. This view of the matter was afterwards strongly illustrated and confirmed to him by the expression of a Parsee at Bombay, who observed that *there should be no great books, but little ones to begin with.* The establishment of schools, therefore, and the distribution of appropriate tracts, were expedients on which, for the present, he was much more disposed to rely, than on the widest diffusion of the Bible in the native dialects of Hindostan. In a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, dated so early as April, 1815, he says, "I am very much satisfied with the measures which you appear to have been taking in furtherance of the objects which brought us to India. I am daily more convinced that certain prejudices are on the wane, and that our exertions will have visible effects on the public mind in India. Education comprehends a great deal; more especially, if we can induce the natives to learn English. In learning and reading English, they will inevitably learn to think; and when the power of thinking is pretty generally diffused, the cause will be gained. However, for the present, we must look to objects

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immediately within our reach; and the education of half-castes and nominal Portuguese [1], is of that description."

The views of the Bishop, however, on these important objects, have not been collected solely from the expression of his sentiments at this particular period, but from a careful examination of his correspondence, nearly from the time of his landing in India, to the day of his death. The mention of these, however, is properly introduced here, because it appears that his sentiments, relative to these matters, underwent no subsequent change; but, on the contrary, were perpetually receiving ample confirmation from all he saw and heard. It is the more important to make known, in this stage of the narrative, the maxims and principles which guided him throughout, because there is reason to believe that, to this hour, they have not been generally understood, or duly appreciated. It is unquestionable that his movements towards the grand object of winning Hindostan to the dominion of the Redeemer, were not impetuous enough to satify the impatient zeal which was rushing forward towards this mighty consummation, and which

[1] At Bombay, and in several parts of India, the natural children of the British had been united with the remains of the Portuguese congregation, in the absence of proper attention from the English Protestant Church.

swallowed up[1] in fancy, the vast space which still unhappily separates us from it. But if his ardour in this "magnificent and holy cause," was apparently less than that of many other pious and benevolent individuals, he yielded to no man living in steady and cordial devotion to its advancement. His heart was always with those friends and benefactors of their species, whose spirits seemed to find no rest, until the gigantic and pernicious absurdities of the Hindoo faith, should fall before the power of the cross. The only question between him and them related to the mode by which human zeal could most hopefully engage in the furtherance of this glorious purpose.

A very interesting and impressive illustration of these views will be found in the following letter to his friend Mr. Ward, which shews the sagacity with which he surveyed the state of public feeling and opinion in India, and the admirable union of faithfulness and discretion with which he was prepared to meet it.

Calcutta, June 30, 1815.

My dearest Friend,

Monday se'nnight I passed most delightfully *at Camberwell:* I was with you and your family

[1] Job xxxix. 24.

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the whole day. I received your letter of the 3d of November in the morning, and that of the 9th of December in the afternoon; so that I could hardly help believing that I was at the White Cottage, talking over domestic matters and future projects. At this distance from home, and surrounded, as we are here, by such different associations, a letter which reminds one of former scenes, seems at once to transport one to the spot: for a while I forget India, and am in England.

I often reflect with wonder on the ways of Providence, when I consider my own extraordinary life. But four years since I quitted my peaceful retreat on the banks of Nen, where any small degree of energy natural to me was nearly laid to rest, and I never read the service at the altar of Tansor Church without the thought coming across me that I was standing on the spot where my remains would probably repose: my sphere of duty was very humble, and the improvement which honest farmer Cave used to declare he derived from my sermons, was the most valuable reward of my labours. The turbulence of St. Pancras, and the bustle and the business of London succeeded; and, though apparently but little came of the attempt, it was, I perceive a most important link in the chain of my life. It roused me into activity; it gave me habits of business; it made me better

acquainted with the world; and it introduced me to the notice of people whom otherwise I could never have known, and who will endeavour, as far as they can, to preserve me from oblivion at *home*. You will, perhaps, catch at that phrase: but it is the term here used for England; and the return to it is the object which every body keeps in view, though few attain it. For my own part, advanced as I am in life, I cannot wholly dismiss it from my thoughts; I cannot divest myself of what you once called "a talent for painting:" and no picture is so delightful to my imagination, as the idea of revisiting my native land after an absence of ten or twelve years, which should deserve to be recorded as the era of moral and religious improvement in India: and, if Providence only grant me health, I think that I should not despair of the rest. Do not suppose that I mean, that in *my* life, or in the life of much younger persons, the terrible abominations here called religion will yield to the faith of Christ. I differ exceedingly from those who tell you that the case is desperate; it is full of blessed hope; nothing has yet been attempted; the policy has been all the other way: but though the tide is turning, a century perhaps may elapse before it reaches the flood: but the immediate object of my hope is, that I may be enabled by the Divine blessing to make pro-

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fessing Christians know and feel their responsibility; and influence those who possess all the resources of these vast regions, to dedicate a much larger portion of their gains to the honour of God. India is not the scene of British glory: we have indeed been successful in war, and skilful in finance: we have made and are making the most of it; but all these things will make a sad figure in the page of the Christian historian: we have done nothing for Christianity, and have acted as if we were ashamed of it; and with some I believe this is really the case. This feeling I am labouring to subvert: and whoever subverts it effectually will, my friend, have laid the foundation on which alone missionaries can build. If every Englishman in India really wished to disseminate Christianity, recommending it both by his example and his influence, or even not checking it, it would find its way: the people are in a state of great indifference about their own religion, and they would gradually adopt any other, which was visibly and uniformly better: but such is not before them.

We had here a thanksgiving day for the peace, on which occasion I preached: I had been disgusted by witnessing, two days before, the most abominable of the Hindoo processions: wretches bleeding from self-inflicted wounds, and dancing like maniacs to the sound of savage music, some with swords through their arms, and others with

bamboos through their tongues, &c. &c. I was determined to notice this from the pulpit, and accordingly after laying down that God "has not conferred empire upon nations merely to gratify their avarice or ambition," and remarking on the field which is here open to Christian benevolence, I exclaimed "Who of us has not been struck with horror at the exhibition of the last few days? What Christian has not praised the Disposer of events that he is blessed with a knowledge of the Gospel? How deeply has he felt the truth of that declaration of his Saviour, My yoke is easy and my burthen is light! With what gratitude does he reflect that a full, perfect, and sufficient satisfaction hath been once made for the sins of the whole world! and how ardently does he wish that to all the world this saving truth were known! Then would pilgrimages, and penances, and self-inflicted tortures, and all the modes of individual expiation cease, and men would 'repent and be baptised in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins,' and would 'worship their Maker in spirit and in truth.'" I then go on to recommend a much stricter system among Christians; the renunciation of immoral habits, the observance of the Lord's day, &c. &c. This sermon, to the surprise of some people, I was requested to print at the charge of government, and it has been dispersed through India. A

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gentleman at a distance writes to me, "the responsibility attached to our possession of this vast empire has never before been boldly proclaimed, and coming now from high authority, it must attract attention." I sincerely pray that it may. You will readily conceive that with such objects before me, my mind and my time are absorbed: and I hope I may be forgiven, if I indulge the wish, after the remainder of my strength and ardour is spent in such a cause, to return, ere the lamp of life be quite extinguished, to my native land; there to enjoy, what I should value beyond any thing else on earth, the quiet society of my surviving friends, and the respect and esteem of good men. I should then say, supposing my labours to have been successful, "I have lived."—God bless you all.

Your's most affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

In July, 1815, the Bishop performed, for the first time, the office of confirmation at Calcutta. As this office had never yet been administered in India by a Protestant bishop, Archdeacon Loring, by his lordship's desire, had explained its nature and uses by a discourse delivered in the cathedral; and, on the day of this solemnity, the Bishop himself addressed the persons confirmed from the communion, earnestly exhorting them

to a serious consideration of the holy engagements which they had just taken upon themselves, and urgently admonishing them to watchfulness, surrounded as they were by habits and principles formidably adverse to the cultivation of Christian holiness. "Various modes and forms of faith," he observed, "are practised around us, all of them with apparent sincerity, and confidence that they are pleasing to God; and the effect of this upon Christians is, I fear, not unfrequently (however unobserved by them) that they forget how destitute of divine sanction is all which they behold; and that Christianity only *hath the words of eternal life.* Let me caution you then against indifference. Hold fast your faith without wavering, according to that form of sound words which you have received. And when you observe the thousands around you worshipping the works of their own hands, and seeking atonement for sin in vain or childish superstition, O bless Him who hath called you to this state of salvation, through faith in Christ, applying those words of the Psalmist,—*this* God is our God for ever and ever: He shall be our guide unto death." CHAP. VI. 1815.

In December, 1815, his lordship held his primary visitation at Calcutta. As this solemnity had never before been witnessed there, it attracted a considerable concourse of British residents. Of the clergy ten only were in at-

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tendance; it being absolutely necessary to dispense with the appearance of the rest, who were on their respective stations at various distances, from 100 to 800 miles, from the capital. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Ward, the senior chaplain. The Bishop having then taken his seat within the rails of the communion, attended by his archdeacon and registrar, delivered his primary charge. As this admirable address was uttered under circumstances of peculiar interest and importance, it will be proper to present to the reader a tolerably copious abstract of it.

His lordship began by observing that the occasion which assembled them was not unimportant in the annals of the Christian faith; that the day had arrived when the purest and most powerful of Protestant churches was completely established in a vast region of Asia; that her clergy, hitherto a small body of detached individuals, acting without concert, and not subject to any local superintendence, were thenceforward to become the members of a compacted body, and united under the regimen which prevailed in the earliest ages of the Gospel. He admitted that the duties of the clergy were to be performed in India under circumstances which called for the constant exercise of Christian prudence: but he reminded them, that there was no region on earth where the religion of Jesus, if

due care were to be taken to plant and water it, would not flourish. The most dissipated city in the east became one of the earliest and most distinguished seats of the Gospel; "The disciples were called Christians first at Antioch[1]," and a branch of the Church of Antioch had subsisted for centuries amidst the mountains of Malabar. CHAP. VI. 1615.

His lordship regretted that he could not have the satisfaction of announcing to his clergy that they were to be placed in all respects on the footing of parochial incumbents. He informed them, however, that they were no longer subject to all the inconveniences which seemed to be implied by the name of military chaplains; that they were now placed, completely and exclusively, under ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that they had fixed and permanent stations, to which they would thenceforward be nominated by himself[2]; that their correspondence, on all ecclesiastical matters, would be carried on through him or his archdeacons; and that the rules of their conduct would be the same which prevailed at home, except where local circumstances should render their application impracticable. Hitherto, he observed, the clergy had been placed in circum-

[1] Acts xi. 26.

[2] It has been already stated that this regulation of the government was not confirmed by the Court of Directors.

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stances extremely unfavourable to the preservation of canonical regularity; and for this reason it became necessary for him to dwell, somewhat largely, upon the topic of discipline.

His lordship, accordingly, proceeded at considerable length to explain the necessity and the advantage of ecclesiastical regularity and subordination. The primitive Church, he observed, was not more remarkable for the zeal and intrepidity of its preachers, than for their strict conformity to order. To imagine that the first Christians bore any resemblance to those who regard it as an indication of piety to "despise dominion and speak evil of dignities," is to betray an utter ignorance of their history. With them, religious fervor went hand in hand with submission to authority. The decrees of the earlier councils refer almost as frequently to discipline, as to doctrine: and the "Apostolical canons," as they are named, even though not the work of Apostles, have been judged by Bishop Beveridge to deserve the title of "The Code of the primitive Church!" The jurisdiction of the Christian hierarchy had been acknowledged from the earliest times, even when destitute of all support from the state, and enforced by no penalty but that of spiritual excommunication.

The Bishop then remarked that his subject unavoidably led him to touch upon a topic which some persons were unable to hear mentioned

without alarm,—namely, the possibility of an extension of the Gospel. If, said his lordship, a thought could be entertained of making a way for religion by force, the design ought not only to be prescribed by common consent, but to be rejected with horror. But should the diffusion of knowledge, the excellence and beauty of the Christian doctrine, and the power of Christian example, succeed in bringing willing converts to Christ, I know not, he added, that any man *could forbid water, that these should not be baptized*[1]. The word of prophecy directed our hopes to such a consummation; and the yet infant Church of India might be the instrument for dispensing knowledge and consolation to the posterity of millions still without its pale. With reference to such a consummation, our thoughts would naturally be turned towards the Church establishment as the centre from which the whole body of converts must derive its unity and consistency. It might, he said, be reasonably expected, that the government of the future Church, whatever may be its extent, should be that which was in force at the time of its foundation; and that the decent and dignified model of our Establishment should be the exemplar which Christian congregations would adopt. Nothing which has any resemblance to independency is adapted to the

[1] Acts x. 47.

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maintenance of religion among a vast population; and least of all, perhaps, when we consider their peculiar character among the nations of the east.

His lordship, however, was aware that he was not addressing missionaries, but the stationary members of an established Church; his object, therefore, was to enforce attention to discipline with reference to an eventual extension of Christianity, by whatever means, and at whatever period it might be accomplished. The effect of regularity would be to aid the labours of conversion. In the primitive ages, the order and discipline of the clergy were regarded, even by unbelievers, as powerfully efficacious in advancing the religion of the Cross: and the laws and usages of the Christian Church were recommended by Julian the Apostate, to the imitation of the Pagan priesthood[1]. If we, therefore, are convinced of the purity of our Church's doctrine, and of the excellence of her discipline, we, surely, shall not abandon our ground by remissness, by irregularity, or by specious projects of accommodation.

In the remainder of his address, his lordship adverted with impressive solemnity to the various duties connected with the clerical office. After enforcing a steady approximation,—in spite of adverse circumstances,—to the observance of the

[1] Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. c. 16.

Church's rubric, in the administration of the various holy offices,—he added,—" the model I would propose to you, is that of the English parish-priest,—the guardian of morals,—the instructor of youth,—the comforter of the afflicted,—the promoter and director of works of charity and love,—and the guide of all who are entrusted to his charge in the way of peace. And I anticipate all objections arising from a different condition of society, in the reply, that this is still the standard to which you should endeavour to make all difficulties gradually yield. Admitting the difficulties of the case, I am still of opinion that you will not want encouragement in the endeavour to establish a pastoral influence; especially if it be attempted by your taking the lead in plans of benevolence and usefulness, which cannot any where originate so properly as with yourselves."

After some remarks on those collateral objects and pursuits which often varied the leisure of an English clergyman, and the absence of which, in India, leaves the ecclesiastic without any medium between a sustained attention to duty, and habits of indolence and voluptuousness,—the Bishop proceeded to recommend the state of the military to the particular attention of the clergy. No class of persons could be more in need of pastoral superintendence, nor could there be a more truly Christian *labour of*

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love than that of seeking to reclaim them from ignorance and profligacy—awakening them to a sense of their danger—urging them to receive instruction—visiting them in their sickness—and dispensing to them the consolations of our holy faith. A scarcely less valuable object would be, the superintendence of the regimental schools, in which, agreeably to the design of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, the principles of the Church of England were to be inculcated on the plan of the National Society. In the furtherance of these objects they could derive invaluable assistance from the diocesan and district committees of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, from which might be procured every species of publication that could be useful in aid of pastoral instruction. Of those committees all the clergy who had heard of their formation were already members; and his lordship strongly urged the propriety of their recommending those institutions to the notice of all who value Christian knowledge, or desire its promotion among their brethren in a foreign land.

Before concluding, his lordship introduced some highly valuable suggestions respecting the appropriate studies of the clergy, which, in India, ought to be conducted with a view to the peculiar difficulties and assaults to which the faith of their people was constantly exposed. The total, and sometimes unavoidable disuse of

public worship was of itself sufficient to engender a pernicious habit of indifference. But besides this, there was constantly before the eyes of Europeans, a gigantic superstition, which claimed immemorial antiquity—which commanded the belief of millions—which could produce, from its sacred books, occasional sentiments and conceptions not unworthy of the Deity,—which admitted that various modes of faith might be acceptable to the Almighty; and which, therefore, was perpetually undermining our allegiance to the *sole* majesty of the everlasting Gospel. All this while it was forgotten that the evidences of Christianity are peculiarly its own—that it not only boasts of prophecy and miracle, and heavenly doctrine, and supernatural influence, but that it alone is an *historical* religion. From the creation to the present hour, the history of the dispensation is before us; while, of its two competitors, the one has no history to produce, but refers us, instead, to an inscrutable antiquity; and of the other, all that can be told lies within the narrowest compass, and furnishes abundantly its own refutation. For these reasons, the Bishop urgently recommended to his clergy an attentive study of the best writers on the Christian evidences; which, considered merely as a combination of probabilities, lead to a result little short of mathematical certainty, and of which the parallel

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cannot be produced in behalf of any falsehood which has ever been imposed upon mankind.

In conclusion, he gave notice that, in order to facilitate his inquiries respecting those points which might especially demand his attention, he had directed a *circular letter* to be sent to his clergy, desiring distinct answers to several questions proposed. This was the only method by which he could become, at once, acquainted with the condition of a diocese, the complete visitation of which, within a compass of two or three years, was far beyond all ordinary strength. The result of these endeavours, he trusted, would be the establishment of Christian order and piety, wherever the principles of our faith are professed, through the British empire in the East. Their numbers, indeed, were inadequate to the spiritual wants of the people; and, he regretted to add that, in a country whose places of worship are the proudest monuments of native art, our Christian edifices are even fewer than our clergy, and are rarely such as to indicate a cordial devotion to the service of the Almighty. Still, it would be their duty to make the best use of their limited means. And it was not to be doubted that, when once the urgent wants of his diocese should be represented, a Christian government would readily attend to the first of its Christian duties.

He then dismissed them with the fervent

prayer that the succours of the Holy Spirit might be abundantly vouchsafed both to them and him; that they might be actuated by a patient zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of human souls; that each of them might habitually remember the solemn account which they must one day render at the judgment-seat of Christ; and that, in that awful day, they might be, severally, invited to enter into the joy of their Lord.

Such were the memorable words of wisdom, learning, and piety, which the father of the Indian Church first addressed to the ministers now consigned to his guidance. He was not content, however, with a general and public address. He had, conformably to the ancient practice of the Church, prepared *Articles of Enquiry*, adapted to the state of religious ministration and worship in India, with a view to their being circulated among his clergy throughout the diocese. To these articles he prefixed a circular letter[1], desiring that the answers to them

[1] "To the Rev.

"Chaplain and Minister at

"My Rev. Brother,

"Desiring to gain information of the state of my diocese in every particular which affects the interests of Christianity and the functions of my clergy, I have, conformably with an ancient and salutary usage, directed that the subjoined Articles of Inquiry should be circulated at my primary visita-

CHAP. VI. 1815. might be framed with the strictest attention to accuracy; and from this mode of ascertaining

tion: and I have entire reliance on your readiness to return to my several interrogatories as distinct answers as your knowledge will enable you to supply. And considering that accuracy is of the highest importance to the objects in view, I do not wish that your answers should be hastily put down, but only that you will transmit them, within a month from the receipt hereof, or (in case of your not having reached your station) within two months from your arrival, under cover to my secretary at Calcutta, or, in the archdeaconries of Madras and Bombay, to the respective archdeacons.

"I heartily commend yourself and your labours to the blessing of Almighty God; and I am,

"Rev. Sir,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"T. F. CALCUTTA."

Dated at

ARTICLES OF INQUIRY, &c.

1. How long have you officiated at

2. Is there a church or chapel, or other building, at appropriated to divine service according to the Rubric of the Church of England? And is it either consecrated or licensed?

3. What are the dimensions of such place of worship? And if it be a church or chapel, has it a steeple or cupola with clock or bells, and has it a font? Or if it be only a room for temporary use, has it a reading-desk, a pulpit, and a communion table, with a large Bible, and the Book of Common Prayer?

4. What communion plate have you at ? Is a surplice provided for the chaplain? And do you wear the hood of your degree?

5. Is any provision made for the repairs of your church,

the condition of his diocese, he was disposed to anticipate the happiest effects. Having dis- CHAP. VI. 1815.

or other place of worship? And at whose expense, and when was it built?

6. Have you churchwardens or trustees for your church, or any thing resembling a vestry?

7. Are there any funds or revenues for charitable purposes at ? And by whom are they managed, and how are they applied?

8. How often is divine service performed at on the Lord's day, and at what hours of the day?

9. What festivals and fasts of the church are kept holy?

10. How often is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered? What is the ordinary number of communicants? And what is done with the sacramental collections?

11. When are the sick visited? And do they frequently desire to receive the sacrament?

12. At what times are Christian children instructed in the Church Catechism?

13. Is Psalm-singing used at , with or without instrumental music, in time of divine service?

14. Have you a person to act as clerk, and another as sexton? And by whom appointed?

15. Are proper books for registers provided? By whom, and where are they kept? And to whom, and how often is a copy of the entries sent?

16. Upon an average of the time during which you have officiated at , what is the annual number of baptisms, marriages, and burials? Or the actual number, if the time be less than a year?

17. If you have a church or chapel, are marriages ever solemnized in any other place? And wherever they are solemnized, do you observe the canonical hours?

18. Have you a burial ground at set

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charged the duties of his visitation at Calcutta, his thoughts were occupied with his approaching departure for the more remote regions of his vast diocese. An additional extract is here introduced, from his correspondence with Mr. Norris, because it gives a faithful exhibition both of his hopes and feelings at this period, together with an interesting account of his various occupations, and the daily distribution of his time.

"I could accomplish a good deal here, notwithstanding all other difficulties, if it had not been the policy to prevent the Bishop from having his proper consequence. My rank was taken from me on the plea that the place next the

apart exclusively for the purpose? And has it been consecrated?

19. What military or other Christian schools are there at ? And who superintend them? And if there be a military school, is it conducted on the system of Dr. Bell?

20. Do any natives attend such schools, and do any of them receive Christian instruction?

21. How many of the European military are usually stationed at ? And what number of Europeans are resident there, exclusive of the military and their families?

22. What places of Christian worship, of any denomination, besides that in which you officiate, are there at , or in its immediate vicinity?

23. Have you any remarks to offer, not immediately referring to any of these questions, but yet of importance in the general view in which they are proposed?

governor-general was unalterably appropriated to the chief justice by the law-patent: but the law-patent, I now find, adds,—'with the exception of such persons as in England take place of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench,'—*i. e.* the Bishop, if any should be appointed! And as to my salary, the chief justice has 4000*l.* more, and the puisnes 2000*l.*, allowing for a different mode of payment, though their jurisdiction is limited to Bengal, and mine extends over India. As to my reception on landing, it was any thing but what it ought to have been. It surprised every one; so that, on the whole, there are no prejudices in my favour. Every thing is to depend on incessant exertion.

"To give you some idea how my time is taken up here, I should tell you that, immediately after breakfast this morning, I had a first call from a rich Portuguese merchant, who apologised for not having paid his respects earlier; but heard that I was going to Bombay, and offered, in case I should visit Goa, to give me letters to the archbishop and others. This led us to a long disquisition on the Portuguese establishments, especially religious, in India; and to do them justice, they did a vast deal more than all other nations put together, though it was not in the right way. This gentleman was, in due time, succeeded by a native, a Brahmin of consequence, who came also to pay his respects, and to consult me about

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a project of charity. I believe he means to endow an almshouse, and he wishes to lay before me all the particulars of his plan; but I have desired him to come again at my return, as I am now overwhelmed with business; which he has promised to do. However, he sat an hour; and these people, to whom time is of little value, seldom sit less. I have *almost* acquired the talent of concealing my impatience, and am getting into repute among them. When the Brahmin was gone, a clergyman called to take leave before he set out for his station, about 700 miles up the river, and to receive my verbal instructions; desiring, at the same time, to be recommended as a member of our Promoting Christian Knowledge Society, and promising to mention it at Cawnpore. And now my secretary has arrived on business, and we are all going to tiffin, it being about two o'clock. All that I have to shew for my morning is about two pages of this letter; and three or four notes have been answered. One has just arrived from Lord Moira, announcing peace with Nepaul, on very favourable terms for the Company.

"I have visits sometimes from a Brahmin[1] who meditates a voyage to England. He has renounced idolatry, with some hundreds of his countrymen, and is acquiring a knowledge of

[1] Rammohun Roy.

Christianity. At present he has got no further than Socinianism, and was actually about to form a 'Unitarian Society,' if I had not dissuaded him. But he has called it 'The Friendly Society.' Our next conference is to be on the divinity of Christ, &c. What will you say to me if he and his companions should be baptized at the cathedral by myself? I should observe, however, that this man requires to be assured that Trinitarianism is not Polytheism, of which he has a very just abhorrence. I am very often placed in very singular situations. This Brahmin requested me the other day to read over to him my Advent Sermon, (which had been mentioned to him,) on "Thy kingdom come;" and it engaged us, with notes and comments, for two hours. And yesterday evening, at the grand fête, at the government-house, there was a very extraordinary personage,—whose like had never been seen at Calcutta,—a nobleman from the kingdom of Ava, most whimsically attired, and with a brass head-piece, just like the tower of a pagoda, surmounted by a weathercock. And this man desired to be introduced to me to ask my blessing!

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"I believe this letter will be delivered to you by Dr. Ward, who has been fifteen years in India, as a chaplain. He is a respectable man, and exceedingly zealous on the side of orthodoxy.—I doubt not, you will find him a very valuable ally in promoting the views of any society formed in

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defence of sound principles. I could wish that he could be noticed. He knows a great deal about India, and might be useful in the East India Missionary Committee; but I believe he will reside at Norwich . . . . . How anxiously do I desire that Providence may preserve me for some years, and enable me to do well in India; and then, that I may, once more, find myself among you all at Bartlett's Buildings! My imagination is frequently delighted with the idea,—but it is almost too much to ask!"

There is, in the last sentence of this letter, something of a melancholy presentiment that it would be his doom to fall in the post he then occupied. At the same time it should be remembered, to his honour, that the highest *earthly* reward to which he aspired, was to be once more among the wise and the good, in his own country, and to be engaged with them in designs of benevolence and piety. The various other particulars adverted to in this letter are singularly interesting, as they display that picturesque variety which chequers the surface of Asiatic life. They exhibit an Indian bishop in the midst of elements and combinations, with which the duties of an English prelate never could make him familiar. The conferences with the Brahmin, Rammohun Roy, indeed, have a still higher interest. They illustrate the remark, so frequently made by Bishop Middleton in the course of his correspondence,

that the leaven of European intelligence was beginning to spread a considerable fermentation through the mass of Indian society. The native mind, he often observes, is evidently at work; whether for good or evil, must mainly depend, under Divine Providence, on the wisdom and virtue of our countrymen.

CHAPTER VII.

The Bishop embarks on his Primary Visitation for Madras—Condition of the Clergy at that Presidency—District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Visit to the Civil College, Madras—Examination of Native Students—Letter to Mr. Watson—Consecration of St. George's Church—Confirmation—Visit from the Nabob of the Carnatic—Letter to Mr. Ward—Visit to the Mission at Vepery—Proceeds by land on his Southern Tour—Mode of travelling—Mahabalipooram, or the Seven Pagodas—Pondicherry—Cuddalore, decayed state of the Mission—Chillumbrum Pagodas—Interview with Brahmins—Tranquebar, state of the Danish Mission—Assisted by the Bishop—Myaveram—Combaconum—The missionary Kohlhoff—Tanjore—Interview with the Rajah—Monument to Swartz—his death-bed—Trichinopoly—The missionary Pohle—Palamcotta—Congregation of Christians—David, son of Settieneden—Arambooly Pass—The missionary Ringeltaube—Quilon—Visit from the Vicar-General of Cranganore—English Congregation at Quilon—Interview with the Syrian Bishop Mar Dionysius.

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On the 18th of December, 1815, Bishop Middleton quitted Calcutta in furtherance of his primary visitation, which, out and home together, amounted to no less than 5000 miles; a formidable

progress when compared with the corresponding journeys performed by Christian prelates in countries long under the dominion of the Cross. It should here be remembered that no provision had been made by the legislature for the expenses of the Bishop's visitation. He had, indeed, stipulated for some allowance on this account when he accepted the appointment; and it was afterwards fixed at 10,000 rupees[1] for the visitation to Madras, and 10,000 rupees to Bombay, besides the use of a ship. At this time, however, no allowance was assigned to the Bishop, nor were any instructions respecting his accommodation forwarded to the local governments from England. Fortunately, the governor-general was sensible that such visits were absolutely essential to the full efficiency of the episcopal office; and also, that the inevitable cost of those journeys would be far too heavy for the moderate income of the Bishop. His Excellency the Earl of Moira, therefore, determined that his comfort, security, and respectable appearance, should be liberally provided for at the public charge; but, not being aware of the exact sum which might be required for that purpose, he issued orders for engaging a vessel to convey the Bishop to Madras, and dispatched instructions to the governments of Madras and Bombay, to prepare a suitable

[1] Less than 1,000*l.*

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house for him during his residence in each of those settlements, and, in general, to provide for his conveyance and accommodation in an appropriate manner. Some misunderstanding having subsequently arisen on this subject in England, it is proper to state that, according to his own account of the matter, the arrangements for his comfort were made upon a scale of abundant liberality. "My attendants," (from Madras,) he says, in a letter to England [1], "were Mrs. Middleton, and a female friend, Archdeacon Loring, Mr. Abbot (my secretary), a medical gentleman, and Lieutenant Swanton, commanding a small party of soldiers: and altogether, with servants and their attendants, my party must have been between 400 and 500! Even provisions were found me on the journey, with the exception of wine. What the whole expedition cost I have never heard; but I have no doubt that it exceeded my future allowance .... There was no parsimony in this instance, but I had for myself and my family all the comforts that I could desire. It is, indeed, a very different thing from travelling in England, and so it ever must be; but the government were very liberal."

The ship which conveyed the Bishop to Madras was the *Cecilia*, an armed vessel be-

[1] Dated August 18, 1817.

longing to the Company's marine. He arrived on the evening of the 25th: but this being Christmas-day, he deferred his landing till the 26th of December. His reception there was respectful and honourable. He landed under a salute of fifteen guns from the fort, and the admiral's house was prepared for his entertainment. At Madras he found abundant reason to be satisfied with his kind and hospitable reception. He nevertheless discerned various indications which led him to apprehend that he should experience here less cordial support than he had received from the supreme authority at Calcutta. The government of this presidency contemplated, with little appearance of satisfaction, a change of system, which might, by possibility, be injurious to their influence and patronage. That some change, however, had become highly expedient, is evident from the extremely anomalous condition to which the clergy appear to have been reduced at this presidency. "Within two years," says the Bishop, "a clergyman of good character was put under arrest by his commanding officer. In another instance, a military officer chose to have notice of the sacrament inserted in regimental orders: and, in a third, an officer ordered a chaplain to do the duty in a place so offensive that nobody could attend." Such, indeed, was the degradation to which the former

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system frequently exposed the chaplains, that the Bishop expresses his astonishment that respectable men (for such, he attests, for the most part they really were), should be found to accept the appointment. These circumstances are here adverted to, solely for the purpose of making manifest the disorder and the mischief which are sure to spring up, in the absence of an effective ecclesiastical discipline; and of shewing that a greater benefit could scarcely be conferred on the cause of Christianity in India than the transfer of its ministers to episcopal superintendence.

Among the most gratifying duties which awaited his lordship at this presidency was, that of witnessing and of encouraging the proceedings of the district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been established previously to his arrival, and which had the good fortune to secure the invaluable services of Mr. Richard Clarke, of the Madras civil service, in the office of secretary. He had the satisfaction to learn that their operations were taking an useful and prudent course; that, in strict harmony with his own views, they were confined, for the present, exclusively to European objects; and that the Society was receiving constant accessions of strength and support. He found too, with inexpressible pleasure, that the advantages of the system

were understood and appreciated by several of the military officers, who manifested a truly Christian desire to obtain prayer-books for the European barracks and hospitals: and who thus engaged in a course of beneficence which, as his lordship most truly observed, would benefit and bless the donors, quite as abundantly as the objects of their bounty. "You will have learned," he says, in a subsequent letter to Archdeacon Watson, "that the district committee is established, and succeeds beyond my hopes; and what is more, it is beginning to act, in consequence of my having rummaged the Society's stores at the different mission stations, and ordered all the books which could be spared to be sent off to the committee. Their remittance of 240*l.* is now on its way to England, and, since it was made, the members have nearly doubled. They amount now at Madras to about sixty. At Bombay I hope to do something for you, though from the smallness of the settlement but little can be expected. However, notwithstanding objections and impediments, I think Bombay will increase the remittances to 1000*l.* in the whole. I wish I could do more for you; but I assure you there was a time when I did not think it possible to do so much."

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The 26th of January the Bishop devoted to the College of Madras. This institution was founded by the local government of the presi-

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dency, and its objects were, to train teachers of the native languages for the junior civil servants; to prepare vakeels, or native pleaders, for the business of the provincial courts; to instruct Mahometan and Hindoo jurists, and to certify them as qualified for the duty of pronouncing opinions on questions of law. A Board of the Company's civil servants preside over the establishment, and, at the time of the Bishop's visit, Mr. W. F. Ellis was at the head of that board. His lordship was present at an examination of native students in the Hindoo law of descent and inheritance. The exhibition was curious and novel. The law exercise was in the form of an extemporaneous disputation in Sanscrit. This was followed by recitations of poetry in various languages and metres, performed by the Moonshees, or language-masters, who were studying in the college, in a sort of rhythmical and measured utterance, approaching to a chant. To any intelligent observer this display could not, of course, be otherwise than singularly interesting. To the Bishop the interest was of a somewhat melancholy cast. It powerfully deepened the persuasion, which he already entertained, that infinitely more was to be done, than sanguine benevolence and piety might suspect, before much impression could be made on the monumental system of religion and law combined, which was the object of all this

study and competition. And it can hardly be doubted that he retired from the scene confirmed in his resolution to commence his own course by endeavouring to strengthen the cause of Christianity among his own countrymen, and to qualify them to recommend the Gospel to the natives by their own life and example. CHAP. VII. 1816.

It will be proper to introduce in this place a pretty copious extract from a letter of the Bishop's, written from Madras, previously to the visit which he afterwards made to the southern missions, and extremely important as developing the general views and designs then entertained by him relative to those establishments.

To Joshua Watson, Esq.

Madras, January 5, 1816.

"I have not yet been able to look into the state of our mission at Vepery, which is a suburb of Madras. But from what I hear of it, I fear it is but in a moderate condition. The strength of the mission seems to be in Mr. Kohlhoff, at Tanjore: for though Mr. Pohlè, at Trichinopoly is most highly spoken of as a pious and exemplary man, he is very much advanced in years, and seems to be sinking very fast. I purpose, however, for the sake of the Society, to visit all the three missionary stations, and, of course, I will communicate the result.

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I have had an application from the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, who are, in consequence of an utter failure of remittances from Denmark, in a state of great distress: and, from what I can understand, unless they meet with at least temporary relief, they *must* transfer their services to some one of the numerous mission societies which are established in India. It has occurred to me, that, considering the very old connection which has subsisted between the Danish mission and our own Society, I should probably be fulfilling the wish of the latter, if I were, on its account, to lend assistance to the Danish missionaries. Before I left England, there was something said at Bartlett's Buildings, respecting a vote of credit to me of 1,000*l.*; and though I have not heard, *officially*, a single syllable on the subject, yet I should hardly hesitate to act upon the Society's Report of 1814, p. 50, where I find that the vote was granted, to be applied in any way which I might 'deem most consonant to the Society's designs.' I can determine nothing until I see the state of the mission by visiting Tranquebar. "But if I should be induced to come forward, it would probably be by a monthly aid, amounting to 20*l.* or (240*l.* per annum); taking from them a pledge, that they will transfer their services to the Society, if desired, and make one mission with that at present belonging to us. If I should come to

this determination, the expense to the Society, before I can receive their answer, will be, probably, one-third of my vote of credit, by which they will at least gain the means of employing the two remaining Danish missionaries, Messrs. Cæmmerer and Schreyvogel; and, eventually, be enabled to extend their mission to the south of India. Should this seem expedient, (besides gaining the credit of an act of liberality, which in the present state of the public mind in England, may be of some use,) some zealous members of our newly formed committees are very anxious to come forward with a public subscription in the name of the Society; but I see great objections to every such kind of interference. Our district committees are now well established with every prospect of success. My chief difficulty, and I assure you it is no small one, is to moderate the zeal of those who would wish us to engage in every project not incompatible with the Society's designs; and who, by a single act of indiscretion, would ruin us at once. Nothing can require more management and caution. I should not, however, apprehend danger from any assistance to the Danish missionaries from the Society *at home*. It has always maintained missionaries on the coast; whereas *we*, the local committees, must confine our exertions to our countrymen, in barracks, hospitals, jails, &c.; in which there is enough to

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CHAP. VII. employ us for some years, with the good wishes, or at least, the acquiescence of all parties. 1816. Nothing can be clearer than the course we ought to pursue. In truth, only one is open to us.

The two great points for your consideration at the meetings of the Society, if I should proceed in this business at Tranquebar, is, how far an extension of your missions is desirable? And whether you would adopt the Danish mission, oppressed as it is with debt? As to the first, you would thus maintain a very considerable Christian establishment in the south of India, in which, unquestionably, you would confer great blessings, *even though you should never be instrumental to the conversion of the natives.* Indeed, I have no notion myself, though I speak with diffidence, that the fabric of idolatry in this country will ever *be shaken by the preaching of missionaries. My only hope is in the general diffusion of knowledge and the arts,* as preparatory to a feeling of interest about our religion: and then the preaching of missionaries will operate on the minds of the higher classes, without whose concurrence all hope of extensive conversion must be groundless. *There is not, probably, any country in the world in which so much depends upon example.* As to the debt of the mission, it is at present about 1,650*l.* or 1,700*l.* a very large sum! But yet, perhaps, it might be raised by the Society, considering the

popularity of the object. However, in all this, I am only anticipating the question. It is possible I may see the affair in another light when I reach the spot." CHAP. VII. 1816.

The same letter contains a gratifying account of the consecration of a noble church, and the first confirmation held at Madras.

"Yesterday I consecrated a handsomer church (that of St. George,) than any which I recollect in London, supported on eighteen Ionic columns, which no English eye would distinguish from marble, with a lofty and elegant spire, and standing in a field, (also to be consecrated) of five or six acres, surrounded with rows of palm trees. The whole conveys a magnificent idea of Christianity in the East. The surrounding scenery tells you immediately that you are not in England. I was assisted on this occasion by seven of my clergy; a great number to bring together in this country: and the solemnity seems to have been very gratifying to the inhabitants. This morning I confirmed nearly 300, of whom I rejoiced to find a large portion were adults . . . . A respect for the ordinances of our religion is gaining ground. To-morrow morning I am to receive, at ten o'clock, a deputation from the Armenian nation, who are numerous at Madras: and at eleven, no less a person than his highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, who returns my visit; and, on which

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occasion, the guns will be fired from the fort. On Thursday I am to hold my primary visitation at this place. My charge [1] is principally on church discipline, a thing unknown in India, and you will readily imagine I do not overlook the claims of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." In a postscript he adds, "I have just received the Armenian deputation, with their patriarch's nuncio at their head. Their conversation turned chiefly on two points, namely, that the Armenian language is the most ancient in the world, and was spoken by Noah. And that the Bible Society will convert all nations to the Christian faith!"

Of the visit of honour to the nabob of the Carnatic, mentioned by the Bishop in the above extract, a minute and picturesque account is given by him in the following letter to Mr. Ward.

Madras, Dec. 27, 1815.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I anchored in these roads yesterday morning after a passage of eight days from Calcutta, in a brig destined to carry myself and my suite thus far on my visitation. This morning I received the visits of the clergy, and called upon the governor, and to-morrow I am to be at home

[1] Of this charge a copious abstract has been given above, page 164—173.

to the commander-in-chief and other visitors. When these ceremonials are all gone through, I must sit down to business, consecrate the church, hold a confirmation, and on another day a visitation, and set in order the affairs of this part of my diocese. My plan is then to proceed over land with my family, my camels, and my tents, with an escort of cavalry, to the south of India, to visit different stations, and thence to Cochin, where again I expect to take shipping for Bombay. Such an episcopal visitation is probably unknown in the annals of Christianity: the distance by sea and land will be little less than 5000 miles!

January 3, 1816.

I have this morning been engaged in a ceremonial perfectly new to me; a visit of form to his highness the nabob of the Carnatic. The grandfather of this prince possessed the whole of the Carnatic; but the grandson has been relieved from the cares and fatigues of government, and has a pension of one-fifth of the revenues of his family dominions, amounting to about 80,000*l.* per annum. He resides in a large old palace on the sea-shore, and keeps up somewhat of native state when he receives visitors. I went attended by my chaplain (Archdeacon Loring) and secretary. On entering the court-yard I was received by his soldiery, who presented

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arms, the drums beating, &c. and near the house were the elephants and camels brought out to aid the shew. As we passed along, the guns were fired from the ramparts; and as I approached the door, his highness and four or five sons came to welcome me on alighting from the carriage. According to the established etiquette, we embraced each other, and the same also with respect to the sons. The nabob then put his right arm over my shoulder, and we walked together through the presence chamber, to the far end of it, where he seated me on the musnud, a sort of sofa, and placed me on his left hand. We then talked over some very common topics for a quarter of an hour, when large chaplets of yellow flowers were brought, and one of them was placed by his highness over my shoulders. He then dropped some ittyr of roses, and poured rose-water profusely over my handkerchief: the next thing was to present me with betel nuts, and having desired me to call my attendants, did the same with them. He then walked with me from the musnud, with his arm over my shoulder, followed by his sons; and after another embracing at the door of my carriage, the business concluded with another discharge of artillery. This kind of ceremony I shall probably go through two or three times before I reach home again, as there are several native princes resident in my route; and I could not be guilty of

greater rudeness than not to pay my respects to them: it would, indeed, be a want of humanity to fallen greatness. Since returning from the nabob, on our sitting down to tiffin, we were amused with the performance of some native musicians, who have within these few days come from Trichinopoly to pick up money at Madras: the band consists of a guitar, a flute, and a small native instrument of the simplest construction, unlike any thing I had seen. They played both Indian and English airs, and sweeter music I have never heard. They played "God save the King," and sang it in the native accent very pleasingly. I could not help wishing that they were returning to Trichinopoly, through which I am to pass. I should have been disposed now and then to have them to my tent: their simple melody would have a powerful effect on weary travellers, reclining under the shade of the banian tree; but possibly we may meet with others on our way. Mrs. Middleton and my whole party are in good spirits for the journey; though it is a vast undertaking: but if we have strength, it will not be deficient in interest: we shall meet with Christian congregations at every step, and the scenery of Tinnevelly and Travancore is perhaps the best in India. At the time of your receiving this, if Providence preserve me, I shall perhaps be at Colombo in the isle of

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Ceylon on my return to Bengal. God bless you and yours: Ever affectionately,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

With respect to the consecration which has been alluded to above [1], one or two remarks may here be necessary. It appears that this was the first time that the Bishop had been called upon to perform this office since his arrival in India. The cathedral at Calcutta had long been used for Christian worship, and might, perhaps, be said to have, virtually, undergone the solemnity of consecration by the Bishop's installation in it. The mission church, the only one besides the cathedral in which the English Liturgy was used, had been formerly opened for divine service, according to the Lutheran formularies, by Mr. Kiernander. At Madras it was stated to him that the church in the fort had been consecrated by a special commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury, without endowment or formal conveyance either of church or burial-ground. The Bishop was naturally anxious to correct this irregular and unsatisfactory mode of proceeding, and to bring it, as nearly as might be possible, to a conformity with that which is observed in this country. Wherever it was practicable, he accordingly required deeds from the local govern-

[1] Page 193.

ment, conveying the church and cemetery to trustees, as consecrated and set apart for ever. In others, the circumstances were such as compelled him to be satisfied with the written consent of the government, as founders, that he should proceed to consecration. The rest of the ceremonial was to be conformed to the rules of the ecclesiastical law.

Before his lordship proceeded southward, he visited the mission at Vepery, near Madras, which at that time was fallen into a state of inefficiency and decay. This ancient mission was originally established by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, about 1730, upon the proposal of the Rev. Mr. Schultze, one of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. A church and mission-house were immediately built, which latter was destroyed by the French in 1746. In 1750, through the good offices of Admiral Boscawen, and encouraged by the governor in council, a new church and mission-houses were provided. Among the Society's missionaries at this station are found the names of Fabricius and Gericke; men eminent for their zeal and piety; the latter of whom bequeathed 15,000 pagodas for the use of the mission. There were two schools attached to this mission, one English, the other Tamil,—and the spiritual interests of the congregation were generally in charge of two missionaries. The sole management of it at this time was in the hands of

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the missionary Pæzold, under whom its operations had been languid, and its resources misapplied. Its funds had been wasted in the maintenance of idle and undeserving paupers, while the children of the congregation were left untaught, and the duties of the church irregularly and negligently performed. A considerable quantity of books had been accumulated in the storehouse of the mission, and the press had for a long period been wholly inactive. The books were instantly placed by the Bishop at the disposal of the Madras district committee, and Mr. Pæzold was called upon, without delay, to submit estimates of the expense which would be necessary for restoring the press to its full activity. Having thus done all that could then be accomplished towards reviving this ancient and important mission, the Bishop quitted Madras on the 31st of January, 1816, and proceeded on his visitation by land.

The progress of the first Protestant Bishop of India, through so large a portion of his diocese is a subject of high and solemn interest. The visitation of Bishop Middleton, momentous as it was, is destitute, perhaps, of much of that picturesque attraction which leads the general reader over the footsteps of his gifted successor; for it does not appear that, like Bishop Heber, he kept any regular journal during his travels; or, if he did, it must have been, unhappily, con-

signed to the flames after his decease, together with his other papers, conformably to the peremptory injunctions of his will. Still it would be unpardonable to defraud the Christian world of such an itinerary of his expedition, (for so it may be justly called,) as may be collected from accessible sources of information.

Previously to entering on this portion of the narrative, it will be proper to pause a moment, for the purpose of adverting to the curious fact, that one most important object of the Bishop's visitation had, before he set out, been in imminent danger of being defeated. We have already seen that the episcopal authority was viewed at Madras with a jealousy more sensitive than even at the seat of supreme government. To this it may now be added that the apprehensions of danger from the superstitious bigotry of the idolaters were more lively in that quarter than at the capital. Accordingly, when it was known that the Bishop had in contemplation a visit to the southern Protestant congregations, the project was, at first, a signal for alarm in the political circles of the English residents; and the dreams of statesmen were haunted by the terrors of the mutiny at Vellore. A body of Hindoo soldiery, in the service of the Company, had there been driven to sanguinary vengeance by an insane attempt to efface certain superstitious marks from their foreheads: and

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this was represented as a prelude to the forcible introduction of Christianity, at a time when the wars with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib were scarcely brought to a conclusion, or the hostile feelings of the natives been allowed to subside. It was, *therefore*, concluded, that the peaceful circuit of a Christian prelate among the native congregations of his diocese, would instantly be exaggerated by the fears of the heathens, into a crusade against the religion of their fathers! But, although such apprehensions were certainly afloat, while the Bishop was at Madras, they, fortunately, did not embody themselves in the form of any official obstruction to his proceedings. The circumstance is here alluded to as strongly illustrative of the state of feeling and opinion prevalent at that time in many parts of India, respecting matters connected with religion. The confidence of the most enlightened classes, has, since that time, been completely won, by the wisdom and moderation of ecclesiastical proceedings in India; and it is probable that many, whose imaginations then converted the pastoral crozier into the rod of oppression and persecution, would, at the present day, be the first to smile at their own credulity.

The journey upon which the Bishop was now entering, was widely different in all its details from the visitation of an English prelate tra-

velling with dispatch and ease, from one end of his diocese to the other, generally with little fatigue or inconvenience, attended at every stage by the substantial comforts of an English inn, or by the more refined hospitalities of the country gentleman's mansion. The imagination cannot but be strangely excited by a comparison of these tame, prosaic, but very agreeable accommodations, with the moving picture of the Asiatic prelate throughout his progress. His mode of travelling is represented by himself as altogether patriarchal. He was attended by his whole establishment. He and the members of his family were conveyed, not in the stately coach, with the mitre on the panel, with sleek horses in the harness, and with the grave and massy coachman upon the box; but all the individuals reclined in their respective palanquins, borne on the shoulders of half naked and swarthy Hindoos, surrounded by guards armed, some of them with lance and target, and arrayed in picturesque and fanciful costume; attended by tents and beds, provisions and baggage, disposed upon the backs of camels; in short, a complete Asiatic caravan, containing within itself most of those supplies which the more advanced civilization furnishes at every step. The armed attendants alluded to above, consisted partly of the native police who accompanied the Bishop through their respective

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districts, and partly of the escort of regular troops which attended him, as a guard of honour, appointed by the government, under the command of an English officer. In this manner thousands of miles were to be traversed, at a rate often inexpressibly wearisome compared with the rapidity of European, and especially of English locomotion. In order to avoid the inconvenience and danger of the heat, the day's journey is usually performed in India before the sun is high, and from ten to fifteen miles is about the average distance.

The first scene of any interest, which he reached, was the village of Mahabalipooram, commonly known by the name of the Seven Pagodas, with its enormous masses of rock and ancient sculpture. These marvellous remains of antiquity are situated near the sea, at the distance of about thirty-eight English miles southerly from Madras. A distant view of the place presents nothing but naked rock to the eye of the traveller. On a nearer approach, the attention is arrested by a Hindoo pagoda, hewn out of the rock, and covered with sculpture; and near to the structure, the surface of the rock, to the extent of about ninety feet in length, and thirty in height, is overlaid with figures in bas relief. Opposite, and surrounded by a wall of stone, are pagodas of brick, said to be of great antiquity. Adjoining are excavations, of which the massy

roof is apparently supported by columns, in an unfinished state, but somewhat similar to those of Elephanta. In another part of the rock itself, is an excavation still more spacious, forming a temple, dedicated to Siva, of which the sculptures are altogether astonishing, especially of the goddess herself, whose figure and action are represented in a spirited and masterly style of execution. The village of Mahabalipooram is inhabited by a few Brahmins, who give a traditional account of these prodigious structures, which does not ascribe to them a greater antiquity than a thousand years[1]. Quitting these wonders of ingenuity, perseverance, and superstition, the Bishop passed on by Alumparva to Pondicherry, which he reached on the 7th of February, and where he had an opportunity of visiting the church of the Capuchins and the Jesuit's College, together with its library, containing many volumes on useful and interesting subjects, but most of them in a state of decay far from creditable to the literary character of the fraternity. It is, however, honourable to these Romish divines that, forgetting for a moment the differences of their creed, and remembering only their common Christianity, they sent a respectful deputation to the Protestant Bishop,

[1] Accounts of these antiquities are to be found in the Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 165, and vol. v. p. 69.

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and courteously presented books for his acceptance.

On the 9th of February he proceeded from Pondicherry to Cuddalore, another of the ancient missionary stations of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This establishment once depended for its support on remittances from the Orphan House of Halle, in Saxony, which had been now long discontinued. The mission comprehended Old and New Cuddalore, and extended to several villages, to Porto-Novo, and to Pondicherry. At this place he visited Mr. Holzberg, formerly a missionary under the Society, but at that time suspended from their service in consequence of certain charges and complaints against him. From this minister he received a melancholy representation of the decayed state of the mission; the decline of which was partly to be ascribed to the desertion of the place by many Christian families, in search of a livelihood, which they could not find upon the spot, and partly, it is to be feared, to the inefficiency of the missionary himself. His lordship afterwards sent him relief for his own wants and those of his congregation. The Bishop's classical imagination was here regaled with a scene which realized, with precision, what is often found represented in the remains of antique European sculpture. While sitting in his tent in the evening his attention was attracted

by several persons, who were employed in beating a tom-tom, or sort of drum, and playing upon a rustic fife, followed by several others who were leading a sheep, apparently to sacrifice. He could have fancied himself, for the moment, removed back to ages long gone by, and transported to the regions of Greek or Roman superstition. The procession was watched, by some of the Bishop's party, to a temple in the neighbourhood of the spot; and the lifeless animal was soon after brought back, after having been immolated with the customary solemnities. CHAP. VII. 1816.

On the 12th, he reached the great pagodas at Chillumbrum, which he visited in the course of the same evening, and where a large assemblage of Brahmins, and others, were in attendance to meet him. They pressed forward with eager curiosity to look upon the high-priest of the Europeans, and were quite willing to exhibit to him the external courts and houses of their gods; nor did they scruple to beg for his money towards their repair. This interview, is in one respect, by no means destitute of importance; since it shews that the natives are much less apt, than is sometimes imagined, to be agitated with alarms for the safety and honour of their religion. The Bishop afterwards learned that certain Mahometans at Madras, had contrived to send before him a rumour, that his excursion was preparatory to a scheme for the suppression of the Hindoo

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faith, and for the compulsory conversion of the natives to the Gospel. No apparent symptoms however, of jealousy or distrust were excited by these sinister reports among the Hindoo priesthood. They conducted him, without the slightest reserve, over their sacred premises, without seeming to imagine that he had any hostile or insidious designs. That his appearance excited something more than idle curiosity may well be imagined. They were by no means quite certain that the English were provided with any religion at all. Their astonishment, therefore, may be imagined, on finding that they had actually among them the head of the English Church establishment in India! It is true he did not approach them with a pompous procession, nor with instruments of music, nor with singing men or singing women; but this they easily accounted for, by the surmise that he must be a person of very eminent sanctity and self-denial, and that he had bidden farewell to all secular vanities and enjoyments!

On the 14th of February he reached the Danish territory, two miles from Tranquebar. His arrival at the town was announced by a salute of the artillery, and was marked by a vast concourse of inquisitive spectators, and by the attendance at the town-house of the governor, Admiral Billè, and of the principal inhabitants of the place, who were assembled for his honourable

reception. He was anxious at this place to visit the mission church and the library attached to it. The latter he found in a very poor condition. His curiosity, however, was gratified by the loan of a Syriac volume on the sufferings and death of Christ by one Benjamin Sultan, formerly a preacher of the Gospel among the Syrian Christians of Malabar. The mission itself he found in the lowest stage of embarrassment and decay, in consequence of the failure of remittances from the parent country. The account of this visit, and of his proceedings there shall be given in his own words, extracted from a letter to Archdeacon Watson, dated Palamcotta, March 22, 1816.

"In the course of this extraordinary visitation I have already met with incidents which, I dare say, would be found interesting if we could talk about them. I was much pleased with Tranquebar. The place is, indeed, in great distress, and the people are living on incomes which, in this country, appear still smaller by comparison; but I never saw poverty more respectable. The mission there is every thing, and the missionaries are the regular clergy of the place. It was expected, I believe, that, as a member of the Society, I should do something for the mission, and this increased the interest attached to my visit. As I entered the town, the population of the place was sent to meet me, or at the win-

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dows, or on the house-tops, which are flat. The next day the Danish governor gave a dinner to myself, &c., at his country house; and I returned the compliment by inviting his Excellency and the whole municipality to dinner on the day following."—The same letter contains the following statement, respecting the aid which he judged it expedient to grant to this mission, in pursuance of the intention which he had already announced to Mr. Joshua Watson.

"In my letter to your brother I mentioned my intention of visiting the Society's missions, and I alluded to the distresses of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. Considering our connection with that mission, I have thought it right to grant it (at the expense of the Society, and out of the credit voted,) an aid of about 200*l.* But the particulars are fully stated in a letter to Dr. Gaskin[1]. I have only to add one circumstance, which I could not so well mention in a letter to be read at the meeting of the Society, that the step which I have taken is a very popular one for their interests; and this is a point which, in the present state of feeling and opinion in this country, I thought it important to attend to. The Society has had to encounter some prejudices, which I am anxious

[1] Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

to remove; and it is my decided opinion that its own missions must have immediate support." It is pleasing to reflect that by this most judicious and seasonable application to the vote of credit assigned to him by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, he had the inexpressible satisfaction of preserving this ancient and important mission from utter ruin; for their effects were, at this time, on the point of being sold, and the Colombo Bible Society were actually in treaty for their presses and their types!

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On the 17th February the Bishop proceeded to Myaveram, where he found an invitation from the resident of Tanjore, together with an intimation that the Rajah proposed to send his minister to meet his lordship on his approach to that country. At Combaconum, the chief civil station in the province, he was met by Mr. Kohloff, the missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at Tanjore, the pupil and successor of Swartz, a person whose appearance and demeanour were expressive of the most primitive simplicity. The Bishop was hailed as a deliverer and a benefactor by that venerable man; for he had heard of the blessed relief which his lordship had been enabled to extend towards the perishing mission at Tranquebar; and, although himself labouring in another service, he had the heart and the eye of a brother towards the distresses of those who were devoted

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to one common cause. On the 21st he had an opportunity of surveying the village of Combaconum, which is of immense extent, and is remarkable for the number of its tanks, pagodas, and ancient edifices. But it is more especially noted for one reservoir of enormous dimensions, and invested with something of a legendary and sacred character. Once in twelve years, when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of Leo, it is the resort of votaries, who crowd to it from every quarter of Hindostan, for the purpose of bathing in its waters. No less than 700,000 persons have been known to assemble on this sort of pilgrimage; a fact which will not appear incredible to those who know the superstitious veneration universally entertained in India for the waters of the Ganges, and the prevalent belief that this vast tank has a secret communication with that consecrated stream. The only other object worthy of attention, was a palace of the Rajah of Tanjore, chiefly remarkable for the mythological paintings with which the walls are covered, and which, the Bishop was informed, represented a nuptial solemnity and procession of Vishnu. From these monuments of idolatry and folly, he gladly turned away to the congregation assembled at the little school, consisting principally of natives, Christian and Hindoo, under the care of Mr. Kohlhoff. He witnessed with great satisfaction the performances of these poor children, and

made each individual of them happy by the gift of a double fanam; (about 4*d.*) A small gratuity was likewise left both with the catechist and the schoolmaster. CHAP. VII. 1816.

The Bishop's visit to Tanjore, which immediately followed, is, of course, one of the most interesting and memorable of his journey: for who could visit unmoved the scene of Swartz's almost apostolic labours? the place to which his presence formerly, and his name, at this moment, have given a sacredness, which belongs, perhaps, to few spots besides on the habitable globe, with the exception of those which were trodden by the very feet of the first Evangelists! And with what deep emotion must the first Anglican Bishop have surveyed the schools, and the library, and the chapel, and the cemetery, to every part and recess of which the memory of that incomparable man have imparted such a holy charm,—such an imperishable interest! And, then, how unspeakably gratifying must it have been to stand in the presence of that very native prince, who was won and overpowered by this glorious example of Christian excellence, who still cherishes a filial recollection for the departed saint, and who, actually to this day, calls him father[1]. The

[1] Maha Rajah Sarabojee was the pupil of Swartz, from the time he was twelve years old to twenty-four; and succeeded to the musnud the year after Swartz died, in 1799.

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reception given by the Rajah to the head of the English Church, was in exact correspondence with his gratitude and reverence for the Christian missionary. On the approach of the Bishop to Tanjore, the resident, Colonel Blackburne, had written to invite him to the residency, where he was received with every mark of respect and hospitality. Very soon after he had reached the residency, the prime minister of the Rajah waited on him, to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and to express an earnest wish, on the part of his highness, that the Bishop would favour him with a visit at the palace; and an early day was fixed for that purpose. When the Bishop and his suite repaired to the palace, in the Fort of Tanjore, he was attended by Colonel Blackburne, and by Captain Michael[1], who then commanded the resident's escort and all the British troops in the province of Tanjore, and who also officiated as assistant translator to the resident. On the presentation of the Bishop, his highness, the Rajah, descended from his musnud, received the Bishop at the steps of the durbar, embraced him with the warmest cordiality and courtesy, and, after the customary enquiries respecting his health, expressed the gratification with which he saw the chief of our religious establishment in

[1] Now professor of Hindoo Literature at the East India College, near Hertford.

his country, and at his court. Then turning to Mrs. Blackburne, who was present, he requested her to conduct Mrs. Middleton to the ladies' apartments, and to introduce her to the queen and his daughters. In the course of his conversation with the Bishop, his highness dwelt, with evident delight, on the blessings which the heavenly lessons and virtues of Swartz, had shed upon him and his people, and he concluded by professing the warmest respect for those excellent men, Mr. Kohlhoff and his fellow-workers, who had succeeded to the labours of their venerable predecessor. He avowed an honest pride in declaring that, though the Company had testified their respect for his memory, by a monument at Madras, yet they must yield the precedency to him,—for that he was first to honour the deceased, by sending to England for the monument which is now fixed at the Fort church at Tanjore[1]. He subsequently assured an English officer, that no occurrence, since he had occupied the throne, had given him more lively gratification than this visit of the English prelate; and that, since he must so soon lose his society, he hoped to indemnify himself by the pleasure of his correspondence.

To the princely courtesies of the Rajah, the

[1] The following is the inscription on the stone which covers the grave of Swartz, and which is eminently curious and interesting, as being the composition of the Rajah himself,

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Bishop, of course, replied in language of suitable respect. He did not fail to thank his highness for his kindness to our mission, intimating that he was doubly bound to make this acknowledgment, both as a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and because it was under the especial patronage of the English bishops. When the conference was finished,

probably the only specimen of English versification ever attempted by a prince of India.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY

OF THE

REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ,

MISSIONARY TO THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

IN LONDON;

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE

ON THE 13TH OF FEBRUARY, 1798,

AGED 71 YEARS & 4 MONTHS.

Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise,
Father of Orphans, the Widows' support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort,
To the benighted dispenser of Light,
Doing, and pointing to, that which is right.
Blessing to Princes, to People, to me:
May I, my Father, be worthy of thee!
Wisheth and Prayeth thy SARABOJEE.

The inscription on the monument erected at the Fort church by the Rajah, will be found in the Appendix.

he was conducted by the Rajah in person over the interior of the palace. The library he found to contain a larger and more miscellaneous collection of books than could, probably, be found in the possession of any other native Hindoo, and indicated habits of considerable intelligence and curiosity. Of these volumes, several were English, others French, German, Greek, and Latin, and some on the subject of medicine and anatomy, which was his favourite study; and as an appropriate accompaniment to them, an ivory skeleton was exhibited, which was so contrived as to take to pieces, and the construction of which the Rajah appeared thoroughly to understand. The pictures were, for the most part, the work of native artists, and consisted chiefly of family portraits, and representations of the missionaries, from which latter his highness selected one of Swartz, as the most acceptable memorial he could confer. Subsequently, on the occasion of his son's coming of age, he sent the Bishop his own portrait, a large miniature in a frame of gold.

On the 24th of February, the Rajah returned the Bishop's visit with unusual grandeur. He was preceded by six elephants, of which two were of enormous size, and one of them always produced on state occasions. These were immediately followed, as the Bishop himself describes

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the scene[1], by "infantry, cavalry, field-pieces, and all the wild dissonance of native music." Then came the Rajah himself and his son, mounted on English horses, superbly caparisoned, and attended by his ministers and the nobles of his court. The whole concourse amounted to upwards of 2,000 persons, forming altogether an image of sovereignty, which is all that is now left to the Prince of Tanjore. His highness was duly received by the Bishop, together with Colonel Blackburne, the British resident at his highness's court. When he was dismounted, the Bishop conducted him to the sofa in his tent, and then seated himself on his highness's left hand. The visit was passed in conversation on various subjects, in the course of which the Rajah manifested more than ordinary acuteness and information. A detailed account of the interview has not been preserved by the Bishop; and the only particulars which can be recorded are, that in speaking of English history, with which the Rajah appeared to have considerable acquaintance, he termed it, in the true Hebrew phraseology, "the generations of the kings of England:" and he seemed to be fully aware of the immeasurable advantage possessed by all European above Asiatic history,

[1] In a letter to Archdeacon Watson.

in the superior attention of our writers to the accuracy of their dates. CHAP. VII. 1816.

The monument of Swartz, to which his highness had alluded, was seen by the Bishop at the Fort Church that same evening; and the mention of it immediately suggests the recollection of a most affecting incident at the death-bed of the departing missionary. He was lying apparently lifeless, when Gerickè, a worthy fellow-labourer in the service of the same Society, who imagined that the immortal spirit had actually taken its flight, began to chant over his remains a stanza of the favourite hymn, which used to soothe and elevate him in his life time. The verses were finished without a sign of sympathy or recognition from the still form before him: but when the last close was over, the voice, which was supposed to be hushed in death, took up the second stanza of the same hymn, completed it with distinct and articulate utterance, and then was heard no more! A Hebrew Psalter, which Swartz always carried with him when he travelled, was presented by Mr. Kohlhoff to the Bishop: and thus did he leave this solemn and interesting region, rich in recollections and memorials of one of the purest spirits that ever visited the earth.

In all the visits of the Bishop to places in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, he was most kindly and attentively accompanied by Colonel Black-

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burne and Captain Michael. The following extract from the letter, to which we have recently referred, conveys the feelings with which he afterwards looked back to his visit both at Tanjore and Trichinopoly, which latter place he reached on the 28th of February, 1816.

"The mission at Tanjore pleased me exceedingly. Mr. Kohlhoff is almost another Swartz. He attended me to Trichinopoly: and when I came away he pronounced over me a prayer for my future welfare. Looking at his labours, I could not but feel that the less was blessed of the greater. Mr. Pohlè at Trichinopoly does equal honour to our mission. He has been a very distinguished man in point of learning; but he cannot, in the course of nature, have long to live. I could wish that both of them could receive some mark of the Society's favour. I staid at Trichinopoly five days, during which I inspected the mission, consecrated a church, licensed the clergyman, confirmed, and delivered a charge to about 100 persons, mostly adults [1], and preached twice on the Sunday, which in this climate is no small exertion, and leaves one quite exhausted. And besides this,

[1] Of these many were officers of the rank of major, and downwards, as the Bishop states in a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, dated March 28, 1816.

I have made a proposal to several gentlemen to subscribe for a church library, to consist of orthodox divinity, &c., under the sanction of the Bishop, something on the plan of Dr. Bray: and I believe it will go on. If it does, and I can extend the plan to other places, I expect great good to result from it. The reading here at present is wretched. But I cannot be every where in such a diocese: and nothing is here to be accomplished without personal application and exertion. People are, in all cases, to be told what is right. Nothing *is established.*"

The number of native Protestant Christians at Trichinopoly is about 500. There are schools both for Tamil and English, and a large and handsome church built in 1766 by Swartz. A few Tamil free-schools were recommended to be established in the adjacent villages, open to Roman Catholic and heathen children; the whole to be placed under a resident missionary, who might relieve Mr. Pohlè, now far advanced in years. At this place the Bishop had an opportunity of witnessing a procession, with offerings, in honour of the swamy, or image, of the neighbouring pagoda. It is the custom in India, as in other idolatrous countries, to decorate the senseless object of their worship with jewels and robes, and other ornaments, often of enormous value; an instance of which he now witnessed at one of the pagodas of Seringham, where the Brahmins

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seemed to have a pride in displaying the splendour of their wooden divinity. In these particulars, the phænomena are usually much of the same kind, wherever a pure and spiritual worship has been lost or abandoned. Idolatry tends to reduce all its followers to a level, by converting them into silly or vicious children, and enslaving them to toys and trumpery. It is melancholy and appalling to observe this universal effect; and still more melancholy to see how powerfully the spirit of idolatry is always at work to convert every thing that approaches it to its own likeness. The following passage from a letter of the Bishop's, written shortly after this period, to Archdeacon Barnes, will shew that even the holy symbol of our salvation is often abused in India by this spirit of perversion :—

" As to the conversion of the natives, it is, I am convinced, quite out of the reach of our Society, or any other existing, while the present system continues. A sensible native told me, some time since, *that the English did not wish it;* and certainly there are many facts which countenance the opinion. I have seen the letter of the missionary Dubois; and I think it very interesting, so far as relates to the present state of the Romish Church in India. But as to such converts as are made by the Church of Rome, I question whether they might not as well retain the name with the ignorance of Pagans. I have

seen, in small buildings, which I supposed at fifty yards distance, to be swamy-houses [1], the cross blackened and oiled like a swamy, and placed at the far end of a deep niche, with lamps on each side it. The natives call it the *Christian's swamy:* and they are right, provided the persons who set up such things can be called Christians. In the country through which I have travelled these things abound." CHAP. VII. 1816.

It is well known that the Romish missionaries found this tendency to heathenize the Gospel so strong, that they ceased to meet it with that uncompromising resistance which becomes the servants of the only true God: and to their want of simplicity and firmness in this matter, may, in a great measure, be ascribed such spectacles as the above.

In the course of his journey the Bishop continued his correspondence with his friend Mr. Ward; as will appear by the following rapid but interesting sketch of his proceedings:—

Forty-five miles N. of Palamcotta,
March 13, 1816.

My dear Friend,

I am sitting in my tent, barely 100 miles from Cape Comorin! My little camp occupies

[1] Small Hindoo idol-temples. The word *Swamy* signifies *Lord*, and this name is applied to idols, because an idol is worshipped as a god.

CHAP. VII. 1816. a rising ground on the north side of the Satoor, a considerable river in the rainy season; but now very nearly dry: to the north are two small pagodas, and to the south, just across the river, a mosque: in the distance westward, about forty miles off, are the vast ghauts, which seem almost close upon us: we are to pass them at the southern extremity near the Cape, by what is called the Aramboolý gate, the entrance into Travancore. My plan is still to embark at Cochin, where a ship of 600 tons will be waiting to receive me; and, as the season is so far advanced, I fear that I shall hardly be able to do much among the Syrian Christians, but must take them on my return from Bombay. It is altogether a vast undertaking; but I trust that Providence will carry me through it. We are by this time pretty well reconciled to our mode of life: we rise at four and are in our palanquins before five, so as to reach the breakfast tent by half-past seven: in the morning I read Syriac, &c. or attend to business as well as I can with the thermometer at 96°. Our dinner hour is four, and at half-past five we saunter out to look at the scene around us; and at eight we retire: and the next morning as before. The country through which we have passed, has been generally uninteresting, perhaps five-sixths of it lying uncultivated, and displaying no features whatever of

public spirit or improvement; the English in the East are mere collectors of revenue. But I must not enter into this subject; it would carry me too far. Notwithstanding the cheerless aspect of the country, my journey has been very interesting: I have seen a great deal and have learnt something, especially of what is most interesting to me, and that is the state of Christianity. All the native Christianity of India lies in the district through which I have passed; I mean Protestant Christianity, which alone deserves the name; for, as to the rest, it is little more than exchanging one idol for another. The mission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge does us honour as Christians. I have inspected the state of the mission minutely, and I have conversed with several of its native members, not themselves converts, but the sons of converts: they are in knowledge and manners as much superior to their pagan neighbours as an Englishman well educated is to a peasant; and yet I cannot hear of more than three native Christians of any sort who are employed under government; it would not be popular among the heathen! At Madras they actually petitioned me to recommend them as door keepers in the churches, instead of Mussulmen and Hindoos. At Tanjore, I visited the Rajah, a most accomplished gentleman. The next day he returned my call, omitting nothing

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in point of form to indicate his respect: we had a procession of infantry, cavalry, field pieces, state elephants, music, and a crowd of followers to the amount of 2 or 3,000; it was quite an eastern romance.

At Trichinopoly, where I staid five days, I consecrated a church, confirmed 105 persons, preached twice, and planned a library for the use of the station. I am endeavouring to introduce a taste for serious and useful reading, which is but little known in this country; I know not whether I shall succeed; but the reception, which I met with at Trichinopoly, though it has every where been very gratifying, pointed it out as an excellent place for the commencement of my plan.—God bless you,

My dearest friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

By the 22d of March the Bishop had reached Palamcotta; for on that day is dated the letter to Archdeacon Watson, of which such ample use has already been made. Its interest, however, is not yet exhausted, as will abundantly appear by the following additional extracts:—

"You will observe that I date from Palamcotta, the capital of Tinnevelly, in the south of India. Cape Comorin, its southern extremity,—(or, rather the immense mountain which though twenty miles from the sea is the mariner's land

mark, and is falsely called the Cape),— raises its lofty projecting head full in view from the window at which I am now writing, at the distance of only forty miles. In a few days I am to pass very near it, on my way to Travancore; and at Cochin, (whither, as the papers inform me, a ship has sailed from Bombay to convey the Bishop to that presidency,) I am once more to commit myself to the ocean. CHAP. VII. 1816.

"I have in the course of my journey met with hardly any thing more interesting than the scene of yesterday evening. I was encamped a few miles from this place, (for we are dwellers in tents, and frequently do not see any thing better than a few native huts for many days together,) when, after rising from dinner, I was informed that several persons were in waiting to pay their respects. I went out, and received, as is usual at every stage, the compliments of the daroga, a sort of chief constable of the hundred, with all his followers, who presented fruit, &c. When I had dismissed these, another party came up, for whom I was not so well prepared. It was a deputation of thirty or forty Brahmins, from the Tinnevelly pagodas, who also came to pay their respects to the *Bishop*, and to represent that the government allowed them so little out of the produce of their lands, that they and their religion were in danger of being starved; and they looked to me, very *naturally* to be sure, to inter-

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fere in their behalf! To understand this, you must be told, that the government are here a sort of lay-impropriators. They take the pagoda estates into their own hands, and grant out of the proceeds what they think reasonable for the performance of the duty, and the expense of the ceremonies; and, in this instance, the Brahmins say it is not enough. The question is entirely out of my cognizance; but the Company's servants very generally assure me that the allowances of government for such purposes are *extremely liberal.* But the delightful part was yet to come. I have with me a writer, David, who joined me at Tanjore, (the son of Sattianaden [1], whose sermon you have at the Society,) and he informed me that the party who stood aloof were Christians who came from Palamcotta, to welcome me, and to receive my blessing. I went forward to meet them. They were headed by their native priest and my man David. They were about thirty; and they formed the most remote congregation under Mr. Kohlhoff's care. The priest, a very interesting man, whose countenance, if I recollect rightly, resembles the head of St. Cyprian in Cave's Lives, (but the book is at Calcutta, 1200 miles off,) and has almost the darkest complexion I have seen, addressed me on behalf of his people; and, in reply, I gave

[1] See the abstract of the East India Missions, p. 323, &c.

them a suitable exhortation, which David interpreted with great energy, and they received it with every mark of thankfulness. They then opened their Tamul prayer-books, and sung a Psalm of thanksgiving to a tune which, I dare say, is used at Hackney, quite correctly, and in good time and melody. The Brahmins witnessed the scene, and both deputations quitted the camp together [1]."

It surely is not easy to imagine a more impressive or affecting spectacle than this *little flock* of Christian worshippers, in a remote and idolatrous region, singing one of the songs of Zion in that strange land, in the presence of the first Protestant Bishop that had been ever seen there, while the priests of a corrupt superstition stood by, and were looking on. It was a sight from which genius and piety combined might surely form an admirable and most interesting picture.

The native Christians in the Tinnevelly districts, are very highly spoken of for their orderly conduct; they have several churches and villages under the care of native priests; they are all Protestants, and are much attached to the English ritual. Their churches are in general built of unburnt brick and covered with Palmyra leaves. The Rev. Mr. Hough in reporting subsequently on these missions, says, "If the Society for

[1] Letter to Archdeacon Watson, dated March 22, 1816.

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Promoting Christian Knowledge had no other fruit of their cares in India to produce, they might point triumphantly to these villages, in proof that their labour has not been in vain."

At Palamcotta the Bishop found a school of forty-one children, and a mission church, raised chiefly by the pious munificence of a Brahmin lady, a convert of the venerable Swartz. Service was performed here every Sunday morning in Malabar, either by the native priest, or the catechist. To the English families the duties of religious worship were performed by a military officer, who reads to the families of the settlement the service in English, followed by a sermon. On the 27th the Bishop reached Arambooly Pass, and found his tent pitched on the bottom of what once was a tank, but then dry, and surrounded by mountains of stupendous and rugged grandeur. On this spot he received a deputation of Christians, lately under the charge of Mr. Ringeltaube, of the London Missionary Society, in number about 800, and much inferior in demeanour and appearance to the native Christians of Tanjore and Tinnevelly. These were followed by a numerous deputation, consisting of all the principal men from no less than twelve neighbouring villages, who assembled to offer their respects, and to gratify their curiosity. Their departure left the Bishop at liberty to survey the military works, for which this place is

remarkable, and which, though now in ruins, are still objects of astonishment. In 1809, though manned by 30,000 soldiers, they were forced by a body of only 4,000 sepoys, who owed their success to the very simple stratagem of sending a dozen men to the summit of a rock which commands the defile below, with orders to sound a trumpet as soon as they had reached that elevation. The besieged, on hearing this signal above them, imagined that an overpowering force was ready to pour down upon their rear; and were seized with such a panic that they instantly took to flight, and thus abandoned a post which a little firmness might probably have defended against all human assault.

After passing through a country rich in all the pomp and prodigality of Asiatic landscape, he encamped, on the 3rd of April, in view of the sea. He was here attended by the native judges and Christians; and of course, did not fail to visit their church. In front of that edifice he found a lofty cross, which is approached by an ascent of steps: within, he perceived still more evident indications of Romish communion, namely, the main altar with its crucifix, and lights burning, two smaller altars with crosses, and an *Ecce Homo* in tapestry, the wall covered with inscriptions in Malabar, which, he was informed, contained a hagiology, or brief history of the saints, with the dates of their respective deaths.

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On enquiry too, he found that on Good Friday service was always performed there, and that on some other occasions the people resorted to it in solemn procession. At the Bishop's desire the Kasheesa, or Presbyter, who, with other persons, was in attendance, produced their Syriac books, the whole of which were liturgical, and one of them contained the office of the mass. The natives appeared to be a little disturbed by all this inquisition; but were speedily pacified when they found that their visitor was the common friend of all who called themselves Christians in India, and they heartily commended themselves to his blessing and protection.

On the 6th of April the Bishop reached Quilon, where he learned some particulars respecting the Syrian Christians, which mournfully confirmed all he had heard of their miserable state of depression and disunion. His more immediate attention, however, was, at this time, directed to the English congregation, who were under a chaplain from the presidency of Madras; and he did not quit the spot without urgently requesting that arrangements might be made for securing the attendance of all the soldiers at the station at Divine service every Sunday: a compliance with this injunction was readily promised by the commanding officer. He carried away with him one melancholy, and somewhat humiliating reflection, that the poor fishermen of the

Syrian community of this place, had the zeal to provide themselves with a church, while the resident English were without a consecrated edifice, and were compelled to convert their public apartments into a place of worship. CHAP. VII. 1816.

On the 11th the Bishop reached Balghatty, the seat of the British residency in Travancore, then under the charge of Captain Blacker. Cochin, which is separated from Balghatty by a narrow inlet of the sea, proved to be in a condition in all respects sufficiently miserable, some of the principal edifices neglected and falling into decay,—the Dutch church shut up for want of a minister,—the school in the fort destroyed,—the children left unbaptized,—the sick unassisted, and without the last consolatory offices,—and a total apathy among the inhabitants respecting education or religion! Such had been the state of this residency for nearly fifteen years, during which period it had been in possession of the French, to whom it had been given up in 1803, conformably to the treaty of Amiens. From what the Bishop was thus able to learn, it would appear that the condition of the Syrian Christians was, in some respects, not much more satisfactory. He deferred visiting them until his return from Bombay, which he was anxious to reach before the setting in of the S.W. monsoon; he learned, however, that at a neighbouring place called Tripoontorah, the primitive and the

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Romish Syrians had their separate services in the same church! The Jewish quarter of the town, which was visited by the Bishop, presented an aspect of far greater comfort and prosperity. The streets, as in most Asiatic towns, were narrow, but the houses were neat, and at that time generally illuminated, in celebration of the passover. Some part of the religious services, both of the black and the white Jews, he had an opportunity of witnessing, as well as of inspecting their books, which were preserved in boxes adorned with crowns of gold, with jewels suspended from them, the gifts of various rajahs and other munificent benefactors. He likewise was admitted into the house of one of the opulent inhabitants, and saw the paschal supper set out in readiness, and covered with a cloth bearing an Hebrew inscription from Exodus, xii. 42., which commands *that night of the Lord* to be solemnly and perpetually *observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.*

On the day following the Bishop received a visit from the Syrian prelate. It was saddening to hear him speak of the desolate condition of his churches, and to solicit on their behalf the friendly offices of the English Bishop. He was attended by several of his clergy, bringing with them a small number of Syrian books, and among them a copy of Schaaf's Syriac Testament, which was in use in all his congregations. Of the Phi-

loxenian version, he seemed to know nothing. Bishop Middleton presented him with a copy of White's edition, which he had brought for this express purpose, together with an inscription in Syriac, importing that it was presented to Mar Dionysius by Mar Thomas, the first Bishop of Calcutta, on his primary visitation at Cochin. A volume was then produced containing a portion of the Liturgy used in the Syro-Romish Church, but not in the congregations exclusively and purely Syrian. In their ritual, he stated, there were both Nestorian and Jacobite prayers, the latter of which are used. He acknowledged seven sacraments; and remarked that their usual practice was to baptize infants on the eighth day. One indication of this Church's departure from primitive simplicity might be observed in the somewhat gaudy costume, and appointments displayed by this ecclesiastic on great occasions. He appeared on this day in a tunic of white satin, over which was worn a mantle of green velvet. His mitre was of crimson likewise, and richly ornamented with gold. His crosier was borne by one of his attendants, while another carried a cross of jewels.

Before the Bishop left Cochin, the sacrament was administered to forty persons by Archdeacon Loring; and it appears that this holy rite had not been celebrated at that place for twenty years before! Such are the instances of spiritual

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destitution which were perpetually occurring among the European inhabitants in India. The little flock is scattered into remote corners of that vast moral wilderness, where no pastoral care is likely to reach them. No wonder, then, if multitudes of them wander away, and, to all human judgment, are lost for ever to the flock of Christ. We may readily conceive the oppression of mind with which a man like Bishop Middleton would reflect upon such incidents as these. He would sometimes feel that to administer a diocese like this, is something like an attempt to enchain the waters, or to pursue the east wind! But, doubtless, his better principles were constantly in readiness to aid him against these incursions of despondency; and he would then recollect, that he is the best servant of his Saviour who is content to *hope against hope*, and to work in the face of difficulties which seem to laugh at all human energy. He well knew that "the last attainment of a zealously good man is to be as diminutive an agent as God pleases, and as unsuccessful an one [1];" and that he who would do good, must often be content to be as *the voice of one crying in the wilderness.*

On the 22nd the Bishop reached Cananore by sea, (having the day before parted from Archdeacon Loring who went on shore on his

[1] Foster's Essays.

return to Calcutta by way of Madras.) At this place he landed solely for the purpose of licensing the church. From this time till his arrival at Bombay on the 14th of May, 1816, he did not leave the vessel. This interval of leisure he diligently employed in improving his knowlege of the Syriac, and he never passed a day without reading a portion of the New Testament in that language.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Bishop arrives at Bombay—His reception—Interview with an Armenian bishop—District committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Education Society—Consecration of St. Thomas's Church—History of this Building—Visitation of the Clergy—Confirmation—Visit to the cave of Elephanta—Mr. Erskine—Letter to Madras Government—Excursion to Salsette—The Bishop leaves Bombay—Visits Goa—Confirmation at Cananore—Lands at Cochin—Visits the Jews at Mattancherry.

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WHEN the ship entered the beautiful harbour of Bombay, not only did the archdeacon and clergy immediately wait on his lordship on board, but one of the government's aides-de-camp was despatched to welcome his arrival, and to offer him apartments at the government-house, should he prefer it to any other residence. Dr. Middleton was deeply sensible of this courtesy, which, however, he deemed it best to decline. He conceived that it would be more becoming for him to occupy the house which had been expressly provided for him by order of the supreme government; and, further, that he would feel himself more at liberty in a dwelling of his own, than in a residence of

public and official resort. On his landing he was received by the salute from the batteries which was due to his rank; and the whole of the military staff was assembled in attendance, under General Cooke, at the pier-head. He was then conducted to the government-house, where the governor, the Right Honourable Sir Evan Nepean, Bart., Sir Miles Nightingale, K.C.B., the commander-in-chief, and all the members of the council were assembled to give him honourable reception.

The first circumstance of any interest which occurred after his arrival was an interview with an Armenian bishop. This prelate was one of those who are frequently sent out by the patriarch at Echmiatzin, to visit the congregations in India, and to collect alms for the support of the mother church, which is represented to suffer incessantly from the oppression of their Mussulman rulers. In the course of this conference, the Armenian affirmed that the history of his church might be traced up to the middle of the fourth century, since which period it has undergone no change. He said that there were a multitude of manuscripts in the Armenian language, relating chiefly to history, and the lives of saints, not wholly excluding poetical composition. But his chief anxiety was to impress on the Bishop of Calcutta, the venerable antiquity of the Armenian tongue,

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which, like his brethren at Madras, he maintained to be the original language of Adam, and of Noah and his family at the dispersion of Babel. As a proof of this, he produced the name of *Eve*, as signifying in Armenian, and in Armenian *only*, the *mother of all*.

It had long been the anxious wish of Bishop Middleton to form at Bombay a district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; but the more urgent claims of the Bombay Education Society, then recently established, had rendered it prudent to defer the attempt for a time. The presence of the Bishop himself afforded a favourable opportunity for the accomplishment of this purpose. Such persons as were favourable to it, were assembled on the 8th of June at the Bishop's house: on which occasion his lordship, with great clearness, and conspicuous ability, explained both the general objects of the Society, and its more particular views with regard to India. He said that he was distinctly aware that a design, involving the extension of the Gospel in the East, might possibly be regarded with some degree of jealousy and apprehension. He trusted, however, that the public confidence would be secured in favour of this society, by the assurance, that its primary and more immediate object, would be the promotion of Christian knowledge among those who already professed the Christian religion, and

were members of our own Church. His lordship then detailed the proceedings of the Society at home, both in the department of its religious publications, and of its assistance to parochial schools. In alluding to its connection and co-operation with the missions of Southern India, he communicated some brief and interesting particulars of his late visit to them; and he pledged himself that, whatever might be the measures adopted with a view to the diffusion of Christianity among the natives, they would be under the guidance of the strictest sobriety and caution. In this presidency, however, his views for the present, he said, were limited to a cheap and ready supply of the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and the other religious publications of the Society, to our own countrymen and their descendants. It was well known that Bibles in a cheap form were in great request, and prayer-books exceedingly scarce; elementary books, such as he could recommend, on the catechism, the offices of the Church, public and private devotion, and religious duties, were not commonly met with; and, lastly, approved books for the use of schools were in very general demand. These would now be supplied for the archdeaconry of Bombay, through the means of the district committee, which he was now desirous to establish, on the same footing as at Calcutta and Madras. The resolutions were then read and passed;

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directions were given for transmitting them to the chief persons at the out-stations, and the individuals then present pledged themselves to take such steps as should be judged most likely to give effect to the views of the Bishop. At Calcutta and Madras, the fear of agitation among the natives, had deprived the Society of the support of several individuals eminent in rank and station; but in Bombay, among the subscribers who enrolled their names, were the governor, the members of council, the superintendent of marine, and many other persons of distinguished influence. In a short time, a sum exceeding 200*l.* in benefactions, and 150*l.* in annual subscriptions, was contributed; and the Bishop, before he had left Bombay, had the gratification of knowing that a large portion of these funds (200*l.*) were actually in a course of remittance to the Society in London for the purchase of their publications. Nor were the committee remiss in early attention to the wants of the European soldiers, regimental schools, and the British seamen frequenting the port, or in giving effect to the suggestions of the Bishop for advancing the honour, and extending the consolations of the Gospel, among the numerous Europeans who are often exposed in India to a state of such dangerous abandonment.

By this measure the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was happily brought into

connection with each of the East Indian archdeaconries. The pledge of co-operation, which the Bishop had publicly and solemnly given, on leaving his native country, was thus nobly redeemed; and a most inestimable service rendered to the clergy of his diocese, by the supply of effectual assistance to their ministerial labours. The contributions to the Society from India, including that from Bombay, now amounted to 1,060*l.*, unquestionably a noble remittance, in so short a time, from that remote region; although the zeal of the Bishop led him to apprehend that it might not fully answer the expectations of his friends at home. "Such, however," he writes, "as our contribution is, may God bless it to the best of purposes."

The institution of the Bombay Education Society has already been noticed. An establishment of this nature could not fail to recommend itself to Bishop Middleton. It has been stated that he kindly and readily accepted the office of patron; and he now most actively and zealously sustained that office, by regularly attending at the meetings of the managing committee, and by giving them the aid of his judicious suggestions, and of his powerful influence. The great object of this Society was to provide religious education for the children of European soldiers, too frequently the victims both of indigence and profligacy. The need of such an establishment

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was fearfully indicated by the circumstance, that out of forty-five boys admitted into the school during the first year, no less than eleven, though the children of British parents, had never been baptized, and that some had been found wandering through the streets, dependent on the charity of benevolent heathens! "Considering it merely in the light of what Protestant parents and a Protestant community owe to the children who have mutual claims on their justice and country, they (the Directors of the Society[1]) had seen much to regret in many instances; and, particularly, on the death or ill conduct of parents, children have disappeared altogether from Christian society, and have become associated with the lower orders of Mussulmen or Hindoos, losing entirely the religion of their fathers,—a circumstance but little calculated to impress the natives with the sincerity of the English in their religious belief!" It will easily be imagined that the Bishop was warmly interested for an association which promised so much benefit to the cause of humanity and religion, and that he learned with cordial satisfaction the willing and liberal support which had been extended to it by the governor in council. Application had already been made to the National Society in England for a master and a mistress; and during the

[1] In the first report of the Bombay Education Society.

Bishop's residence in Bombay a reply was received from the secretary, Dr. Walmsley, stating "the feeling of lively gratification excited by the formation of the Bombay Society, and assuring its members that every assistance, which the National Society could contribute towards the success of its exertions, would be most cheerfully afforded.

On the 7th of July the Bishop consecrated the church, which was dedicated to St. Thomas, in honour of the blessed Apostle, who is believed to have made the East the scene of his labours and sufferings in the cause of the Gospel. The sermon was preached by Archdeacon Barnes. The history of this edifice is somewhat remarkable. The town and island of Bombay originally belonged to the Portuguese, and was by them made over to the English crown, in 1662, as a portion of the dowry of Catherine of Portugal, the wife of Charles II. In the year 1714, the Rev. Richard Cobbe, A.M. was appointed, by the East India Company, chaplain to this settlement; and having "considered," he says, in an appendix printed with his sermon, "the inconvenience, and unsuitableness withal, of performing our *public* devotions in so *private* a manner as we did in this fort, having only two upper rooms beat into one, which served us for a chapel, and being locked up in the castle during divine

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service, I ventured to propose the building of a church for God's honour and service, according to the use of the Church of England; that all the island might see we had some religion among us, and that the heathens might in time be brought over as converts to our profession." He accordingly recommended this good work in public sermon, and by his zeal and influence at length succeeded in obtaining contributions to the amount of 5,000*l.* towards which the East India Company subscribed 1,000*l.*; and with this sum, a plain, spacious, and substantial church was erected, 170 feet in length, and 70 feet broad: "large enough," he adds, "for a cathedral." Application was made to the Bishop of London for permission to consecrate it; but the reply was, that this could not be done without the presence of a Bishop. On Christmas-day, 1718, however, the church was open for divine service, "dressed," says Mr. Cobbe, "with palm branches and plantain trees, the pillars adorned with wreaths of greens, and the double crosses over the arches looked like so many stars in the firmament. A whole crowd of black people stood round about, (Rammagee and all his caste), who were so well pleased with the decency and regularity of our way of worship, that they stood it out the whole service. Sermon ended, the governor, council, and ladies repaired to the vestry, where,

having drank success to the new church in a glass of *sack*, the whole town returned to the governor's lodgings, where was a splendid entertainment, wine, and music, and abundance of good cheer. Thus," he continues, "was the ceremony of opening Bombay Church, with all public demonstrations of joy, with that decency and good order which was suitable to the solemnity." Its dedication to the service of God was happily completed, and made irrevocable, by Bishop Middleton, at an interval of nearly 100 years from its original construction.

A few days after this the Bishop also consecrated the cemetery, a large spot of ground, about a mile and a half from the town, near the sea-shore, and surrounded with a deep plantation of cocoa-nut trees. The enclosure round the church had been in a few instances used for interment, and some persons of rank had also been buried within the walls of the church. But the Bishop wished to discourage such a practice, conceiving it to be inconvenient, if not dangerous, in a tropical climate, to deposit the dead within the precincts where the living were to assemble for the celebration of divine service. Soon after, the Bishop held a visitation of the clergy of this archdeaconry; and confirmed also several young persons, whom he addressed in his usual very impressive manner.

During his abode at Bombay, Bishop Middleton

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did not omit to visit the Island of Elephanta, for the purpose of examining its celebrated cave temple. His excursion was rendered peculiarly agreeable by the kindness of Sir E. Nepean, who accommodated him with the use of the governor's yacht. He had the good fortune to obtain MS. notices[1] respecting this gigantic monument of superstition from William Erskine, Esq. a gentleman to whose intelligence and research the Bishop was indebted for much valuable information relative to eastern literature, and whose amiable and unassuming deportment he found extremely engaging. It would be scarcely proper to interrupt our narrative by an elaborate description of this prodigious excavation, which has for ages been an object of curiosity and wonder. I cannot, however, refuse myself the pleasure of inserting the following passage from the papers of Mr. Erskine: "The entrance into this temple, which is entirely hewn out of a stone resembling porphyry, is by a spacious front supported by two massy pillars, and two pilasters, forming three openings, under a thick and steep rock, overhung by brushwood and wild shrubs. The long ranges of columns, which appear closing in perspective on every side,—the flat roof of solid rock, that seems to be prevented from falling only by the massy pillars, whose capitals are (to

[1] Since printed in the Bombay Literary Transactions.

appearance) pressed down and flattened by the weight,—the obscurity of the interior of the temple, which is dimly lighted only by the entrance,—and the gloomy appearance of the gigantic figures ranged along the walls, and hewn, like the whole temple, out of the living rock, joined to the strange uncertainty that hangs over the history of the place,—carry the mind back to distant periods, and impress it with that kind of uncertain religious awe, with which the grander works of ages of darkness are generally contemplated." It is scarcely necessary to add, that this magnificent fabric (if such it may be called,) has ceased to be used as a place of worship ever since the Portuguese seized Bombay, about 300 years ago, and probably for a long time before.

An extract is here inserted from a letter of the Bishop's to Mr. Ward, which, though brief, furnishes, like all his correspondence with that gentleman, an agreeable relief from the tenor of his mere official history.

Bombay, June 12, 1816.

My dear Friend,

About a month has elapsed since I reached this place, after a month's voyage from Cochin. I came round by Cape Comorin, and through the whole of Travancore. I staid long enough at Cochin to see the Syrian bishop, and to make him a present of a Syriac version of the New

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Testament, which he had never seen, and also to make arrangements against my return in the autumn, when I hope to collect some little information. It is impossible, within the short compass of a letter, to enter into a detail of what I have seen or done within these last four months; but I believe that I have acquired more knowledge of the actual state of this country, than I could have done in England in the course of my life, and that I have laid up materials sufficient to work upon while I remain in India. The harbour of this place is most beautiful: there are several islands in it; among others Elephanta, which I have visited; and at the back of all, the mountains on the Mahratta coast; the town stands on a long narrow tongue of land running out into the sea. We have at present here the China Indiamen, and many other ships, and the whole forms a splendid scene. In the evening Mrs. Middleton and myself usually walk on the sea-shore, where the disciples of Zoroaster are chanting hymns and prostrating themselves to the setting sun. A few mornings since I had a visit from their chief priest, a man of great learning in the Oriental way, with whom I had a long disquisition on the ancient languages of Persia. I have also had a visit from an Armenian archbishop, who has just arrived here from the furthest parts of Mesopotamia. He says that he heard at Bagdad of my expected arrival at

Bombay, and he has something to communicate, in which he shall solicit my assistance. I suppose it is some plan for enabling his Church to print their books of devotion, from what I could collect; the few printed books they have at present come from Constantinople and Venice. CHAP. VIII. 1816.

I am quite surprised at the little I get through, though I am always at work, and as full of projects as ever: a languid feeling reduces the value of time to about a third. Upon the whole I have reason to be very thankful: as to my dear wife, the companion in all my travels, the depositary of all which I think, and the transcriber of almost every thing I write, her faculties of travelling, and listening, and transcribing, are at least as good as I ever knew them.

Yours ever affectionately,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

The setting in of the rainy season early in June, and the unsettled state of the British relations with the Mahratta powers in the Deccan, combined to prevent an excursion into the interior of the country, which, under more favourable circumstances, the Bishop would have been desirous to accomplish. The various concerns of his diocese, however, afforded him ample occupation in the interval. One of the matters which here engaged his attention, was the arrangement, with the concurrence of the Bom-

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bay government, of the several distinct duties of the clergy whom he recommended to be stationed at the presidency or in its neighbourhood. By the desire of the governor, he also framed a table for the regulation of the surplice fees; and he did not fail to urge on the proper authorities, an increase in the number of chaplains, suggesting, at the same time, where he thought they should be stationed, and where decent places for divine service should be provided. The following letter, written at this time to the government of Madras, will also exhibit his vigilant attention to other parts of his extensive diocese, and was doubtless the result of his anxious observation during his late tour through the southern provinces.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, MADRAS.

Bombay, June 28, 1816.

Right Honourable Sir,

I conceive it to be my duty to represent to the government of Fort St. George, that a church is much wanted at Quilon, as being a considerable military station, and the presidence of the resident in Travancore. The clergyman has, for some time past, performed divine service in a room, which had, till then, been the supper-room of the assembly-house; but which, since it has been wanted by the government

for the performance of divine service, the inhabitants have, very properly, abstained from using for the purpose to which it was originally destined. It is still, however, used for other purposes besides that for which it is wanted on the Lord's day; and it is, in every other point of view, a place which I could not license as a chapel. I would, therefore, submit to the government the expediency of ordering a plan for a church to be erected at Quilon, with as little delay as possible.

I wish further to avail myself of the present opportunity of suggesting to the government of Fort St. George, the propriety of giving to the churches of an established religion the external appearance which usually belongs to them. The church at Trichinopoly has neither steeple nor cupola, nor, in any respect, the visible character of a church of the Church of England; but is merely, in its external form, a room with a flat roof: and I would submit to the government, that it is desirable to order some such addition, to give it the appearance of a church, as the engineer may find to be compatible with the present state of the building.

The church at Cananore is, in some respects, less exceptionable than that at Trichinopoly, having a large porch used as a vestry, and the same kind of angular roof which is commonly seen in England. But it has neither steeple

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nor cupola: and it stands in the midst of an open plain, without any wall or other enclosure whatever. The edifice in itself is an extremely good one; and I would suggest the propriety of adding to it, at least, a cupola, sufficiently large to contain a bell, and of enclosing a space of ground immediately around it. I cannot conclude the present application without suggesting, that the government will in future be pleased to direct that the plan of any intended church be sent to the archdeacon, to be forwarded to the Bishop, in order that all irregularities in the construction may be avoided, and that such suggestions may be offered as may tend to make our places of worship not incongruous with the feelings and association of those, for whose use they are designed, and at once distinguishable by all who see them, as temples dedicated to the faith professed by the sovereign of the country.

I have the honour to be,
Right Honourable Sir,
With great respect,
Your most obedient and faithful servant,
T. F. CALCUTTA.

In the month of August, together with Mrs. Middleton, he devoted a few days of recreation to a tour in the island of Salsette, separated from

Bombay and the adjoining continent by a narrow inlet, which gratified him with scenery of varied grandeur and beauty, including views of the harbour and sea-coast, and of the towering mountains of the Mahratta territory. This island is computed to contain aoout 45,000 persons, of whom perhaps about 8,000 are Christians, attached to the Romish Church, and having several decent places of worship, the duty of which are performed by native priests, subject, either to the archbishop of Goa, or to the vicar apostolic, residing in Bombay. Of these Christians, however, an unfavourable account was given to Bishop Middleton, by an official gentleman of great experience, who stated, at a meeting of the Bombay district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that, "though they are enrolled as Christians, and attend divine worship at the Portuguese churches, they are yet wedded to all the absurd ceremonies of the Hindoo mythology, of which they are particularly observant on births, deaths, and marriages. At the very time that they are in the habit of attending a Christian sanctuary, and professedly acknowledging Christianity, they retain in their houses various implements of Hindoo idolatry, and enter indiscriminately into all the pernicious usages of a deplorable superstition. Having finished his immediate business at Bombay, and the state of the monsoon being now

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more favourable, the Bishop left Bombay on the 17th of September, after an abode which must always have been recollected by him with singular delight. He lived there on the most friendly terms with his clergy, who regularly dined at his table every alternate Thursday. He preached thirteen times to numerous and attentive congregations. His liberal hospitality, and his incessant devotion of himself to his Episcopal duties, secured him the attachment and veneration of his people: and, to crown all, he had the gratification of finding his wishes and designs for the promotion of religion, effectually supported by the personal example and the powerful influence of the governor, Sir Evan Nepean, whose eminent worth he mentions, in his correspondence, in language of the warmest esteem and admiration. He embarked in the midst of the customary honours, accompanied by Archdeacon Barnes, whom he invited to join him in a visit to the capital.

CHAPTER IX.

The Bishop's visit to Goa, and to the Jews of Cochin—Memoir of the Syrian Church in Malabar—Historical records of their origin and privileges—Discovered by the Portuguese in 1545—Intrigues and violence of the Romish agents—Zeal and duplicity of Alexis de Menezes—Proceedings of the Synod of Diamper in 1599—Usages and state of the Syrian Church, from La Croze—Its independence in part restored by the Dutch—Retirement of the Syrians to the hilly country—Churches on the coast left in possession of the Romish Church—Lamented loss of the Bishop's collection of notes and papers.

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On the Bishop's departure from Bombay the government furnished him with one of their armed cruizers, a vessel of 13 guns; the commander of which was instructed to land the Bishop, on the voyage to Calcutta, on any part of the Malabar coast, and at Ceylon. On the 20th of September 1816, Bishop Middleton entered the harbour of Goa, and was honourably welcomed by the Viceroy Condê de Zazavedas; and occupied a house which had been provided for his reception through the kind assistance of Major Schuyler, at Bombay, who, for many years during the late war, resided as British envoy at Goa.

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Through the same friendly intervention, the Bishop and his party had every possible facility afforded them for visiting old Goa, with its numerous and splendid churches, and other religious buildings. What had been the Inquisition he did not see. His prudence and caution kept his lips sealed on that subject; and it was not till towards the end of his visit to the place, that one of the Augustine monks asked him whether he had been to the Inquisition? He deeply regretted that it was then too late to avail himself of the opportunity which this voluntary question seemed, by implication, to offer. It will be unnecessary to detain the reader with a description of a city so well known. It may, however, be proper to mention that Goa was originally taken from the Hindoo rajahs of Bijanagur by Albuquerque in 1510, and has ever since been the capital of the Portuguese in the East. The province of which it is the head, though extending only forty miles in length and twenty in breadth, is said to contain no less than 200 churches, 2000 ecclesiastics, and 200,000 inhabitants, who bear the name of Christians. Goa consists of two distinct cities: the viceroy and Portuguese families reside at New Goa, which is near the mouth of the river; the old city is about eight miles further up, and it is scarcely possible to imagine a spectacle more melancholy and oppressive than it now

presents. The magnificence of its sacred structures appears to be an object, as it were, of perpetual and bitter mockery, to the surrounding solitude. Deserted streets, altars coldly served by an ignorant and indolent priesthood, a population of monks and ecclesiastics, whose very servants have no residence among them, but come to them from the villages in the morning, and leave them at night, the lanes which lead from one church to another choaked up with weeds and rubbish;—such is the picture, at this day, of her who might once be almost called "*the lady of kingdoms*," the mistress of the east! All this desolation has been wrought, partly by the vicissitudes incident to all human works, political or commercial; partly by the extreme unhealthiness of the situation; and, in no inconsiderable degree, by the terrors of the Inquisition, which, among other pernicious consequences, had driven from the port the Jews and Arabs, who were its principal traders. At present it has no trade. Its revenues are insufficient to pay its expenses: it is absolutely a burden upon the mother country: it is, in short, a melancholy retreat of *doleful creatures*. And yet it admonishes us, even in its ruin, that the zeal of superstition is fervid and prodigal, to a degree that well may shame the apathy and the parsimony which often seem to paralyse the energies of a more enlightened faith!

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On the first of October, 1816, his lordship, landed once more at Cananore, chiefly for the purpose of holding a confirmation. The numbers to whom he had administered that rite, in the course of his visitation, amounted now to about 1000, including thirty-nine confirmed at this place. From the church he proceeded to visit and inspect the barracks, the hospital, and the school. So early as 1505 the Portuguese had a fort at Cananore; latterly it belonged to the Dutch, who purchased it from the Mahommedan sovereigns. On the 3rd he re-embarked, and on the 4th, about noon, he reached Cochin. The whole party were most hospitably received by Captain Blacker, the British resident, at his house at Balghatty. The Bishop, in company with archdeacon Barnes and Captain Blacker, early crossed over to Mattancherry, the white Jews' town, about a mile from Cochin, with a view to further enquiry respecting that singular people. The appearance of this place is very different from that of any Indian town. Its streets are regular, its houses are two stories high, have windows and doors in the European manner, and are so prodigally whitewashed as to produce an inconvenient and painful glare. The inhabitants came to the beach to receive the visitors, and to conduct them to the synagogue. Their countenances appeared extremely fair, compared with those of the other natives of

India, and bore strong marks of the Jewish physiognomy. Their synagogue is a plain square building, not differing materially in its arrangements for public worship and reading of the law, from those which are usual in Europe. Their history, according to their own account, is this: that they belong to the tribe of Benjamin, Judah, and half Manasseh, and that their forefathers left Saphanat (probably the same which Sepharad mentioned in Obadiah 20) after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; that they originally dwelt at Cranganore, from which they were driven by the Inquisition of Goa about 300 years since; and that soon after they were settled at Cochin, they assisted the Dutch against the Portuguese. With regard to the dispersion of their nation, one story current among them is, that the ten tribes are to this day beyond the river Sambattin, which is continually throwing up stones and earth to prevent their return; except on the Sabbath, on which day, as their law forbids them to stir, the miracle is suspended! They all believe that they shall be restored to the Holy Land in peace, in the year 1839, and that the temple is then to be rebuilt by the freemasons, with Solomon at their head. They are perfectly enraged at the mention of Jesus as the Messiah. They have a high veneration for the book of Job; and believe the house of Esau to be the Christians! *Shiloh* they

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interpret as the name of a city, and the prophecy which says, *his name shall be called Emmanuel,* they apply to Hezekiah. They read the whole psalter frequently in their houses; the ninety-first psalm every night. They follow the customs of the Portuguese Jews and have their books from Amsterdam. They, as well as the Black Jews, appear to be rapidly declining.

The next visit of the Bishop was to the synagogue of the black Jews, whose countenances exhibit very little of resemblance to their brethren, and they are said to have been the converts and household slaves of the white Jews. They themselves, indeed, claim the more ancient settlement of the two, but are unable to support the allegation by any decisive or satisfactory accounts. Of the Falashes, mentioned by Bruce, they had never heard. It could not be ascertained that they had any language, or the remains of any, which was not intelligible to their white brethren. He purchased of them a small Hebrew MS. containing a portion of the Pentateuch, and from the whites he received, as a present, an almanack, a Jewish ritual, and their service for the fast of the desolation of Jerusalem.

Cochin Fort was built by Albuquerque in 1503; in 1663 it was taken by the Dutch, who converted the cathedral into a warehouse. There are many Christians here, both of the Portuguese and Dutch congregations; the latter, who are

the most respectable of the inhabitants, had for some time been without an European pastor, and they presented a memorial to Bishop Middleton, soliciting to have an English chaplain settled among them, and offering their principal church for his use. CHAP. IX. 1816.

During one of his evening walks in this vicinity, the Bishop met with an instance of that retired and lonely religion, which often strikes Protestants so forcibly in Catholic countries, and which forms, perhaps, one of the most pleasing peculiarities of the Romish worship. Being by the water side, he came near to a small oratory, built with wood, and covered with cajan, (or the leaves of the palmyra tree), having a large cross at the further extremity, and lighted by three small lamps suspended from the roof. In this little chapel an aged and solitary worshipper was so deeply engaged in prayer, that he appeared insensible to the presence of strangers, and paid no attention to the Bishop or his attendants, until his devotions were finished. They then learned from him that this lowly house of prayer had been constructed by himself, together with four or five other native Christians, for the purposes of daily devotion; but that on the Sunday he regularly attended the service of the Church.

The principal object which the Bishop con-

CHAP. IX. templated in this second visit to the coast of Malabar, was a more minute and careful investigation of the condition of the Syrian Church than he was able to undertake in the earlier part of this year, on his way to the presidency of Bombay, in the course of his visitation. As the former history, as well as the present state, of this most interesting portion of the great Christian community, is of no ordinary importance, it is hoped that the insertion of a very *brief* memoir on that subject will not be regarded as an unseasonable interruption to the course of this narrative; but will, rather, be indulgently accepted as an appropriate introduction to the investigations of Bishop Middleton, who had carefully prepared himself for his inquiries by studying the history of this Church in the best printed authorities.

1816.

That the Gospel was preached by the Apostle St. Thomas to many of the Oriental nations, and among them to the Indians, is numbered by Fabricius among those traditions of the Church which, though not improbable, are still open to doubt [1]. The earliest authentic information we possess relative to the existence of Christianity in India is to be found in the subscriptions to the

[1] Fabricius, Lux Evangelii, p. 108, 109, c. v. Traditiones *Minus Certæ.*

council of Nice, among which appears the title of a bishop of Persia and of India [1]: and this is confirmed by a passage in Suidas, which states that the inhabitants of *interior* India, the Iberians, and the Armenians, were baptized, under Constantine the Great [2]. These historical fragments, however, convey to us no information respecting any particular Christian communities in these countries. The first writer who speaks of a Christian Church in the East is Cosmas Indopleustes, who lived in the sixth century, and who states expressly, and as an eye-witness, that there was, in his time, such a church in the island of Taprobanè (or Ceylon), and the interior of India, with its establishment of clergy: and that in the country of Malè and Callianè, there was a bishop who came from Persia, where he was ordained [3].

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[1] Act. Synod. Nicen. pars ii. c. 28. Ἰωάννης Πέρσης, τῆς ἐν Περσίδι πασῃ, καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἰνδίᾳ.

[2] Suid. in voce Ἀρμένιοι. Οἱ ἐνδότεροι Ἰνδοι, καὶ Ἴβηρες, καὶ Ἀρμένιοι, ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου Μεγάλου ἐβαπτίσθησαν.

[3] Ἐν τῇ Ταβροβάνῃ νήσῳ ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ Ἰνδίᾳ, ἔνθα τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγός ἐστι, καὶ Ἐκκλησία Χριστιανῶν ἐστιν ἐκεῖ καὶ κληρικοὶ, καὶ πιστοὶ, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ περαιτέρω. Ὁμοίως, καὶ εἰς τὴν λεγομένην ΜΑΛΕ, ἔνθα τὸ πέπερι γίνεται. Καὶ ἐν τῇ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΑ δὲ τῇ καλουμένῃ καὶ Ἐπίσκοπός ἐστιν ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενος. Cosm. Indopl. Topogr. Christ. p. 178, 179. Ed. Montfauc.

The names ΜΑΛΕ and ΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΑ, fix the locality beyond all reasonable doubt. Μαλὲ, or Malè, in the Malabar

CHAP. IX. 1816. The Syro-Malabaric Christians, indeed, have themselves generally laid claim to apostolical antiquity. They affirm that St. Thomas, after having spread the Gospel in Arabia, arrived at Cranganore; and that, when he had established several churches in those regions, he passed over to the coast of Coromandel, and fixed himself at Meliapore, (the modern St. Thomè, about a league to the south of Madras); that having first converted the king and people of that country, he visited China; and on his return to Meliapore, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Brahmins. This most interesting tradition, however, which still survives among the Christians of Malabar, was rejected by Tille-

language, signifies *pepper*, from which product this region notoriously has its appellation. With regard to Καλλιάνα, it has been conjectured that it is identical either with Calicut, or Quilon, spelt also sometimes Coilan. But it is more probable that the Calliana of Cosmas is the ancient city of Calianapore, of which some ruins are said to be still in existence near the sea-coast, two days' journey to the north of Mangalore.—See Paulinus, India Orientalis Christiana, p. 14. Romæ, 1794.

It is, however, by no means impossible that Christianity may then have extended still farther north, to the district known at this day by the name of Callianee, or Calyani, "a strong hilly country extending along the sea-coast of the Aurungabad province, opposite to the island of Bombay, bounded on the east by the Western Ghauts, and situated between the 18th and 20th degrees of north latitude." Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, vol. ii. p. 150.

mont, and has, generally, been regarded by Protestant writers as apocryphal and legendary [1]. If we are to believe La Croze, or his authorities, these people had among them a very strange tale, which derives their descent from one Thomas Cana, a wealthy Armenian, who settled in their country in the sixth century; and which, of course, is wholly inconsistent with their pretensions to a higher antiquity. The same writer informs us, that when the Portuguese arrived, they were actually divided into two races, supposed to have been, respectively, the spurious and the legitimate posterity of their founder [2]. But whatever may be the doubts

[1] Those who are desirous of examining all that can be said in support of this tradition, must consult Paulinus, India Orient. Christ. p. 127—145.

[2] It is contended by Assemann, that this Thomas Cana was not an Armenian merchant, but a Nestorian bishop, who was dispatched to India, not in the sixth century, but about the year 800, by Timotheus the Nestorian patriarch. The worthy Maronite, indeed, seems to be sadly puzzled with the odd story of Thomas and his two wives, the one at Cranganore, the other at Angamala,—the one the parent of the nobility of the land, the other of the commonalty. It was an unheard of thing, he says, that even a Nestorian bishop should have two wives, together or successively: and (not knowing what else to make of this awkward and unseemly tradition), he concludes that it could be nothing more than a sort of allegory, signifying merely that Thomas had two churches to administer, namely

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which hang over the remote history of these communities, it is certain that as early as the ninth century they had obtained many valuable privileges from the heathen princes of Travancore; and that, in process of time, they became sufficiently powerful to establish their independence, and to elect a sovereign of their own. At last, one of their own princes dying childless, they fell under the dominion of the King of Cochin, the adopted son of their deceased monarch, and in this condition they were found by the Portuguese when Vasco di Gama arrived in their country. But although they then acknowledged the supremacy of an idolatrous sovereign, to whom they rendered tribute, and furnished a contingent of military force, their spiritual governors still enjoyed a dignity and estimation but little inferior to royalty itself. Their vast diocese comprised numerous churches, and a large Christian population; and within its limits, none but criminal matters fell under the jurisdiction of the heathen tribunals. In all civil, as well as ecclesiastical causes, their bishop sat as pastor and judge,

that of Cranganore, and that of Angamala; and that the Christians of each diocese may be traced to him, not as their canal, but their spiritual progenitor.—Assem. Biblioth. Orient. tom. iii. pars 2, p. 442.

with the archdeacon for his assessor; and any attempt to appeal from his decision was always visited with the severest chastisement. Their various other substantial and honourable privileges still remained unimpaired; and, if we may trust the accounts transmitted to us of their usages and pursuits, we shall be justified in the belief that in arts, and arms, and virtue, the Christians of Malabar decidedly excelled the pagan natives of Hindostan [1].

On the arrival of Vasco, these unsuspecting people, (who were then grievously sunk from their original prosperity, and were suffering heavy oppression from the neighbouring heathen princes), were anxious to place themselves under the protection of the Christian sovereign, his master. The profession of a common religion would have rendered them invaluable allies to the Portuguese adventurers. Nevertheless, it was not till about the year 1545, that the Europeans found leisure to attend to the concerns of their Asiatic brethren; and it was then unfortunately perceived that the Christians of Malabar were labouring under the accumulated guilt of heresy and schism! Their faith was chiefly, if not universally, Nestorian; and their discipline and government endured no

[1] See La Croze, p. 132—144, who professes to translate the words of the missionary Vincent Maria de Santa Catharina de Siena.

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dependence on the Church of Rome. On discovering these formidable corruptions, the Portuguese ecclesiastics instantly commenced the labour of reclaiming the wanderers. They encountered a stubborn and protracted resistance from the natives, ardently devoted as they were to the faith and worship of their fathers, and sternly resolute against all foreign usurpation. At last, after prelates and monks, aided by secular authority, had toiled nearly in vain, for a series of years, the ancient Church of Malabar was assailed by a course of violence and fraud, which cannot be contemplated without indignation and disgust. The first care of the Romish agents was to intercept all correspondence between these people and their Nestorian patriarch at Mosul: and, for this purpose, several of their bishops were successively seized, and dispatched to Lisbon or to Rome, or consigned to the dungeons of the Inquisition. The hitherto peaceful and united flock were henceforward torn to pieces by endless schisms, and, their usual consequence, mutual excommunication. The terrors of weak brethren, and the bad passions of false ones were called into pernicious action. Every artifice, in short, which the spirit of intrigue or fanaticism could suggest, was prodigally, and most unscrupulously, employed, to complete the work of oppression. The final accomplishment of the design was reserved for

the energy of Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who devoted himself to his hateful task with zeal and intrepidity worthy of the best cause, and with faithlessness and duplicity suited only to the worst. CHAP. IX. 1816.

The projects of the archbishop were brought to their iniquitous consummation by the synod of Diamper, at which he himself presided, in the year 1599. As this assembly finally effected the reduction of the Indo-Syrian church under the dominion of Rome, it will be necessary to furnish a brief statement of its previous discipline and doctrine, as exhibited by La Croze from the representations of the Papal writers both Portuguese and Italian.

In the first place, then, it is indisputable that this Church had, for centuries, generally acknowledged what is called, though perhaps unjustly, the Nestorian duality of *persons* in the Saviour of the world: an error, probably, of no fatal malignity, since, like the heresiarch himself, the worshipper might unite, in his adoration, the persons, or the natures, which he separated in his creed. At what period it was that this tenet was introduced into India, cannot now be very precisely known. It is, however, certain, that for almost immemorial ages the Malabar Church had been governed by a succession of Syrian bishops, who received both their ordination and

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their mission from the Nestorian patriarch of Mosul[1].

To this heresy they added another, of at least equal enormity in the estimation of their reformers: they heard with abhorrence the title of Mother of God ascribed to the Blessed Virgin; and, when her image was presented to them, they exclaimed, with vehemence, "away with this abomination, we are Christians, and not idolaters!" No images, indeed, of any kind, had ever been endured in their churches. Crosses, however, were to be seen in and near all their places of worship, and had ever been regarded by them with the deepest religious reverence.

They *then* acknowledged only three sacraments, Baptism, Holy Orders, and the Eucharist. Auricular confession they held in detestation. Of purgatory they had never heard. The mystery

[1] But although the creed of this Church, in general, might be Nestorian, it is by no means certain that the opinions of the Jacobites had not, *partially*, insinuated themselves long previously to the arrival of the Portuguese. It is mentioned by Le Quien, (Oriens Christianus, Vol. ii. p. 1275), that, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the Malabar Christians desired that a metropolitan might be sent to them by the Jacobite patriarch of the Copts, at Alexandria, in order that the Christian law might be preserved from total extinction among them; and that the patriarch accordingly appointed a Syrian Jaçobite, whom (strange as it may appear), he sent to the Nestorian Catholic of Mosul for ordination.

of the real presence was equally unknown to them [1]. With respect to baptism, their practice was somewhat lax and unsteady. They brought their children to the font, sometimes at the end of one month, sometimes at the age of ten years: and many professed the Gospel, and attended the communion, without ever having been baptized at all. They used no consecrated unguents in the celebration of any sacrament. Some vain ceremonies, however, their liturgies prescribed. In baptism, for instance, they rubbed the body of the infant with the oil of the cocoa, and attached something of sanctity to the practice, although it was performed without prayer or benediction.

[1] It is, nevertheless, asserted by Le Quien, that even *then* they acknowledged all the seven sacraments of the papists: and, further, in defiance of the undeniable fact, that they were ignorant of transubstantiation, he avers that they *must* have believed in it, because, at the synod of Diamper, there was no decree pronounced in condemnation or correction of any error of theirs respecting the sacrament of the Eucharist. Much in the same spirit of resolute perversion, he affirms, that it would be wrong to appeal to the decrees of that synod for the purpose of establishing the antiquity of the opinions of the Protestant reformers; because, truly, it is not to be imagined that the Portuguese divines were sufficiently conversant with the Chaldee or Syriac, to be confident of accurately reaching the sense of the books and sacred offices of the Malabar Christians.—Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, vol. ii. p. 1097—1098.

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Their sacred ministry embraced three principal orders, corresponding to those of the Western Church. They were governed, as we have already stated, by a bishop or metropolitan, sent to them by the Nestorian primate or Catholic. Their inferior clergy were known by the general name of Catanars, a term implying, in their language, a combination of priesthood and nobility. Of these, the first order corresponded to our presbyters. Under them were the deacons; a title which, however, seems to have been also applied to various inferior officers of the church. Besides these, they had their malpans, or doctors. The age of holy ordination was sometimes as early as seventeen. Their clergy were held by them in the highest respect and honour. There were few families of which some individual was not an ecclesiastic; and the dignity was, perhaps, the more generally coveted, because it was not supposed to exact any exclusion from secular offices or pursuits. Their priesthood were under no obligation to celibacy, or to abstinence from repeated marriage, on the death of their wives. It happened, not unfrequently, that a father, a son, and a grandson, were presbyters in the same church. The wives of the clergy had precedence, both in the church and in society; and were distinguished by wearing round their neck a cross of gold, or some other metal.

The duty of the presbyters was to recite,

or chant, the Divine offices, which were in the ancient Syriac tongue, twice every day, at stated hours; to administer the sacraments, and to perform other religious duties, for which they received certain regulated fees. These payments seem to have constituted their sole revenue. The eldest of the presbyters always presided in the church. Of the pastoral care they appear to have been lamentably negligent. They busied themselves but little with the lives and manners of their people. The work of admonition and correction, indeed, was conceived to fall more peculiarly within the paternal province of the bishop,—a notion, by which that most important of all duties was virtually consigned to neglect; since no individual, however active or conscientious, can effectively superintend the morals of a large and scattered community.

The devotion of the people to the Primate of Babylon was sincere and fervent, and rendered them extremely impatient of all attempts to introduce into their public services any mention of the Pope or of the Romish Church. The people were in the habit of punctual attendance on divine worship on Sundays, wherever they had opportunities; but the dispersed state of the population, and other causes, deprived a large portion of them of all public religious ministrations for months, and, in some instances, for

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years together. The fast of Lent was observed by them with extreme severity, and this, on pain of excommunication; a censure which they regarded with the deepest terror. So rigorous, indeed, was their ecclesiastical discipline in this respect, that there were certain enormities which excluded the penitent criminal from absolution, even when at the point of death.

A zealous attachment to their ancient usages was here, as elsewhere, found compatible with a state of unhappy ignorance as to the *weightier matters* of religion. With the greater part of the people, the knowledge of their spiritual duty was confined to making the sign of the cross: while others, who were better instructed, could recite the Lord's prayer, and the angelic salutation. Another indication of their low state of religious feeling was the mean, squalid, and neglected condition of their churches. All this spiritual apathy was the natural result of a system which provided no stated and regular instruction for the people; and the evil was, doubtless, aggravated by the use of the ancient Syriac in their religious services, a language unintelligible to any but the priesthood; and often but imperfectly understood even by them.

Such, according to the representations of La Croze, was the state of Christianity among this ancient community, when the Portuguese undertook that revolution which was at length

effected by the synod of Diamper. By the decrees of that assembly some abuses may possibly have received a salutary correction. The main object, however, of the whole proceeding was to impose on the Indo-Syrian Church an unlimited submission to the Pope; and this disastrous project was brought to a successful conclusion by the unwearied exertion of Archbishop Menezes. So extraordinary was the zeal of that prelate, for the complete purification of this heretical community, that he would willingly have re-baptized every Christian in Malabar: and, in order that every monument of error might be obliterated among them, with a barbarous and stupid bigotry, he actually consigned all the ancient Syriac books and documents to the flames!

This flagitious usurpation was followed by sixty years of servitude, during which interval the people were insulted by the arrogance, and sometimes plundered by the rapacity, of a succession of Jesuit bishops. From the first, however, this tyranny was very impatiently endured[1];

[1] This is distinctly confessed by Paulinus. His words are these: "Vix ergo Menezius obitu suo oculos clauserat, jam illa infelix Angamalensis, seu Cranganorensis,—(tot laboribus, tot sudoribus et impensis Menezii ad Catholicam fidem et Ecclesiæ unitatem traducta)—Nestoriana diocesis, malignantium sacerdotum agitata furoribus, ad veterem *toto conatu*, redire tentavit insaniam."—India Orient. Christ. p. 70.

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and it had armed the resentments of a large portion of the Christian community, when the Eastern empire of the Portuguese was shaken to its foundations by the courage and enterprise of the Dutch. The oppressors were then expelled by the inflexible Hollander, and the Christians of Malabar were enabled, once more, to assert their independence. The Romish ecclesiastics reluctantly abandoned their prey; but they had the atrocious satisfaction of leaving a church, which they had found at peace, in a state of miserable discord and confusion, that has, unhappily, continued to the present day. It would be quite inconsistent with the design of this work to give the remainder of their history from that period to the beginning of the present century. It may, indeed, be summed up in a few words. When the papal divines were compelled to retire by the Dutch, one great division of the Malabar Christians still remained in subjection to the see of Rome; but even these soon fell into a singular and most calamitous state of schism among themselves. The Portuguese archbishop of Cranganore has always claimed them as his legitimate charge; while, on the other hand, this right has been obstinately contested by the Propagandâ Society at Rome, who still continue to send out Italian vicars apostolic for their government: and between these two opposite claimants, the

spiritual allegiance of these people is, to this hour, divided[1]. With regard to that portion of the Syrian Church which has resumed its independence, it is a most memorable circumstance, that ever since the destruction of the Portuguese dominion, it has received its prelates from the see of Antioch, and, with them, those Jacobite doctrines, respecting the person of the Saviour, which are in direct opposition to their ancient Nestorian belief. Their intercourse with Syria, however, has never resumed its former regularity; and they have, consequently, lost much of that peculiar spirit which, in better times, preserved them from degeneracy and corruption.

It should here be noted, that the portion of this community which resisted the Romish usurpation, were compelled to retire into the hilly country called Malayalim, and to leave their churches on the sea-coast in possession of the papists; who, on their part, were under the necessity of accommodating themselves to the indelible prejudices of their converts, and of allowing the Roman mass to be chanted in the Syriac language. In the interior of the country the independent Syrians have remained

[1] The details of this history may be found in Paulinus's India Orientalis Christiana. And an abstract of the whole is inserted by archdeacon Robinson, in his "Last Days of Bishop Heber." Madras, 1829, p. 32—42.

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from that time to the present day. It was, therefore, requisite for Bishop Middleton so to arrange his visit, as to form one northern, one eastern, and one southern expedition of two days each. It is impossible to enter on this part of the narrative without expressing the bitterest regret for the loss of those materials which he himself had collected with a view to a complete memoir respecting the Syro-Malabaric Church. The object was one in which he was deeply interested. During the ten days that he passed among these people he took ample notes of all the information which he could procure. He obtained transcripts of the Liturgy and formularies of their church under the immediate inspection of the diocesan; and in one of his letters, he expresses a strong hope that he may be "enabled to ascertain, *more fully than has yet been done*, what is the purity in which this extraordinary people maintain the principles of the Christian faith, and in what degree they symbolize with the Church of England." Besides, feeling as he did, that a distinct and satisfactory account of the Christians of Malabar would naturally be expected from the first Protestant Bishop of India, he spared no pains to accomplish himself for the task in a manner worthy of his own reputation, and of the sacred importance of the subject; and, with this view, he had devoted a considerable

portion of his time to studies connected with that subject, and, more especially, to the assiduous cultivation of the Syriac language. Under these circumstances, it will readily be conceived, that his papers, even in their loose and imperfect state, must have been quite invaluable. Unfortunately, the Bishop himself was under a different impression. He regarded his undigested collections as unworthy of the public eye, and as incapable of being made worthy by the care of his surviving friends; and they accordingly perished in that indiscriminate destruction to which by his will he condemned all his unpublished compositions. Thus it is that the Christian world has entirely lost the contributions which this accomplished scholar and divine might otherwise have rendered towards a most interesting department of ecclesiastical history!

It was a most fortunate circumstance that Bishop Middleton was accompanied on his excursion by archdeacon Barnes, who carried with him to this, as to every other walk of usefulness, an observant mind and a zealous heart. The archdeacon did not suffer the opportunity to pass without preserving some tolerably copious notices of what he saw and heard. Nevertheless, he naturally felt anxious to avoid all appearance of trespassing on the province which his diocesan had prepared himself to occupy; and, for this

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reason, his memoranda were less full and perfect than they would have been, had the office of recording particulars devolved solely upon himself. His remarks, however, contain a fund of truly valuable information; and it is wholly to them that I am indebted for the ability to furnish any detailed account of Bishop Middleton's visit to the Christian Church of Malabar.

CHAPTER X.

The Bishop visits the Church at Tripoontorah—Curringacherry —His conference with the Syrian Catanars—Moolentonty— Condenaad—Syrian hymns—Malabar school—Sediampoor.

THE first of the churches visited by the Bishop was that of Tripoontorah, a building about sixty feet in length, and in width about twenty-five. About twenty feet of the length is enclosed by a railing or screen, very much resembling that which is still to be seen in many of the ancient country churches in England. The roof is pointed, and the timbers exposed. The covering is of cajan, the church being too poor to afford tiles! The ceiling of the chancel is arched and fretted, presenting on the whole a sufficiently handsome appearance. In the little squares of the ceiling are painted representations of angels' faces. At the altar is a large frame with paintings in compartments, taken from historical subjects of the New Testament. There is also a figure of the Virgin and Child; and in front stands a crucifix, small enough to be concealed, occasionally, by a simple cross, of much larger

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dimensions, when placed immediately before it. The reason for this contrivance is, that the church is used indifferently by papists or Syrians; and that during the Syrian service the *idol*, though not altogether removed, must, at least, be placed out of sight. It did not appear that there were stated hours for the Romish and Syrian congregations respectively. The earliest comer had the use of the church; and to the people it generally seemed a matter of indifference which service was performed. Each was in Syriac, and each, of course, alike unintelligible. Both Syrian and Romish priests were actually in the church together, when visited by Bishop Middleton. The former shewed a copy of the Gospels in Malayalim, printed at Bombay, and used by the Syrians only. The service of the other is the Roman mass, translated into Syriac, by the celebrated Archbishop Menezes, which is printed at Rome, and entitled, "Ordo Chaldaicus Rituum et Lectionum, juxtà morem Ecclesiæ Malabaricæ; Superiorum permissu editus. Romæ, 1775."

In front of the western entrance stands a large cross, and close by it, a box for the reception of alms for the poor, and oblations for the repairs of the church. Two similar boxes were fixed on a small post, at the entrance of the rails, for a similar purpose. Besides these casual donations, there appears to be no fund

whatever for the maintenance of the indigent, and there is consequently much miserable and destitute beggary in the place. Near the western entrance is a font of stone, and holy water stands in a recess by the small door near to the rails. In the body of the church are two or three cars for the purpose of carrying images, in papal ceremonies and processions! It is their custom to bury within the walls of the church; bishops close by the altar, clergy between the altars and the screen, and the laity in the body of the edifice.

Such is the picture of a country church in Malabar, where Romish corruption has been able to establish itself. The next church visited was that of Curringacherry, about one mile distant. It is dedicated to St. George, and is *exclusively* Syrian. Its dimensions are about forty feet in length by twenty in breadth. Between the altar and the rails hangs a large chandelier, supported by a rope from the ceiling, hung very low, and lighted by cotton wicks in cocoa-nut oil. At the altar was a large painting of St. George, surrounded by four compartments, of single figures each. At the bottom, was represented the Last Supper; above, in the middle, a figure of the Father, as they said, surrounded by clouds and angels, and having a tiara on his head. There were no images in the church; but a double cross, with three

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candlesticks on the upper part of the table, and two on the lower. Among the lumber and rubbish, near to the altar table, was a crucifix formerly used by the papists, now thrown aside. The timber of the roof was here also exposed to view, and the beams supported from the walls, by carved elephants' heads. The *Kasheeshas*, or Presbyters, produced copies of the Gospels and Psalms, in Syriac, but without the epistles. They produced also a book of Hymns, by Zacharias, probably a former bishop of their Church. They chanted the service very monotonously, to a single tune, resembling some of their native melodies. The village contains about 200 Syrian Christians, including men, women, and children, besides heathens: for no village is Christian exclusively. There is no school, and no instruction, except that the priest usually expounds the Epistle and Gospel, after having read them in Syriac and Malayalim. In this church, (as in all others) there is a curtain before the altar, and a chair within the steps on the north side. The church is built of the red stone common on the Malabar coast. The steps were of gneiss or micaceous granite. There is a font at the west end, and, on the other side of the entrance, a basin for holy water. On the outside also of the western extremity, is a large porch, with chairs in it. By the cross in front of the western entrance is placed a receptacle

for oblations of rice and oil, chiefly such as are offered in pursuance of religious vows.

In the evening of this day eleven catanars from the neighbouring churches, attended the Bishop at the Rajah of Cochin's bungalo, which had been procured for his use by the considerate good offices of Captain Blacker, and to which all necessary refreshments had been sent from Balghatty. Besides these eleven catanars, another was present by the name of George, who afterwards was chosen bishop, and assumed the title of Mar Dionysius [1]. He had been sent

[1] There had recently been considerable dissension among the Christians, who had renounced the communion of the church of Rome—(and who are known by the name of new or separate Christians)—respecting the person truly entitled to the episcopal office. Mar Dionysius (who, when Dr. Buchanan visited those parts, was living at Candenaad), died without consecrating his successor. Mar Thomas, his nephew, then assumed the bishopric, after a mock consecration, and died in the course of the year 1816. The name taken by the present Bishop was also Mar Dionysius. He received his consecration at the hand of Mar Philoxenus, whose usual residence was at Cranganore, but who did not assume any episcopal authority or jurisdiction. Besides these, there was a functionary who called himself the Ecclesiastical Governor of the Romish Archbishopric of Cranganore, an aged man, in a state of decrepitude, who visited Bishop Middleton when he was in the country before; and who stated that he was there for the purpose of answering a complaint preferred by the Propagandists at Verapoli, for having under his protection certain churches, which had revolted from their jurisdiction.

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by the metropolitan to attend Bishop Middleton on the preceding Sunday, and now accompanied him hither. He was attired in loose white trowsers, with a white tunic or shirt, a red silk cap, hanging much down behind, and carried a long staff of cane, tipped with gold. He was a good-looking man, of mild and modest demeanour, and interesting manners. He was, apparently, about thirty years of age, had a black beard, and his head shaved on the crown. On this occasion he and his brother catanars seated themselves on mats upon the ground, the Bishop and his archdeacon being in chairs at the table. The Bishop, being provided with his memorandum-book and pencil, began the

He added, that the seceding congregation had suffered severe oppression, and that all the power of the Propagandists had been acquired by a long continued system of encroachment and intrigue. The visit from this ecclesiastic was followed by one from the vicar-general himself, and a Father Prospero, from Verapoli, who conversed with Bishop Middleton for some time, respecting the press of the Propagandâ, and the numerous works which had issued from it. At last his lordship ventured to advert to the unhappy misunderstanding between them and their brethren: upon which the vicar-general assured him that they of Verapoli were entirely blameless, and that the whole guilt rested on the obstinacy of the people of Cranganore! From all which it appeared, that if the Papists had succeeded in tearing away a considerable portion of the ancient Indo-Syrian Church, they had sorely quarrelled among themselves concerning the division of the spoil.

conference, through his interpreter, by saying, that he felt a deep and friendly interest for their Church, and had visited them for the purpose of making some enquiries relative to its present condition. They replied by expressing the lively satisfaction with which they saw among them an English bishop, to whose favour and protection they were most anxious to commend themselves, and by declaring that they would readily answer his enquiries to the best of their knowledge and ability. The following are the the most important particulars obtained from their communication. CHAP. X. 1816.

Though the nominal head of their Church is the Patriarch of Antioch, their intercourse with him has long been much interrupted. The Syrian Church of Malabar was then under a metropolitan, named Mar Dionysius, whose residence is at the college at Kotim, about forty miles south of Cochin, and a bishop called Mar Philoxenus, whose proper residence is at Calicut, but who at that time was at Kotim also. The clergy in general go by the appellation of catanars. The priests, or presbyters, are entitled kasheesas. The term shumshanee is applied to deacons properly so called, and comprehends, likewise, several inferior orders, similar to those which are mentioned in early ecclesiastical history. Whenever they appoint a bishop from among their own clergy, he is chosen by a majo-

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rity of the clergy and laity, who vote at the election together. No person can be appointed to a church without the consent of the laity; neither, on the other hand, have the congregation any vote as a body, in ecclesiastical affairs, unless the catanar agrees. Each church or congregation has a court, consisting of the catanar and four lay elders, who meet in the church porch[1], (or if there be no porch, in the body of the church,) to punish evil-doers by fine, admonition, or excommunication. The metropolitan has no fixed period for visitations, but visits occasionally if required. He sends frequently for the catanars, to enquire into their proceedings, and to ascertain the state of their parishes and congregations.

In the year 1698, they stated, the Syrians had seventy churches and 100,000 Christians. In 1708, Mar Gabriel came among them, and wished to introduce some innovations, but no one could be prevailed on to follow his practices or doctrines. They have still among them the memory of Mar Yohannè, who was sent from Antioch in 1747, and was known among the Syro-Romans by the name of heretic and iconoclast, because he prohibited and destroyed the

[1] This practice is not wholly unknown in England. The minister, churchwardens, and overseers, meet for the payment of the poor in the porch at Tawstock church, in Devonshire.

images. They have also now remaining some of the books brought to them in 1751 by the three malpans, or Jacobite bishops, Mar Basilius, and Mar Gregorius, and another Mar Yohannè, who allowed the clergy to marry, and continued the prohibition of images. Bishop Middleton, having shewn them Shaaf's edition of the Syriac Testament with the Latin version, asked them if they had any other Syriac translation. They replied that the three bishops mentioned above introduced Testaments, which differed from theirs in the words, but not in the signification. The Latin they could not read, but would willingly learn it if they had the means. They had never seen or heard of a book which the Bishop enquired for, called *The Treasure.* They have no convents or monastic institutions in Malabar. They keep Easter by a rule different from that of the Papists, but were unable to explain it without reference to their books [1]. Their Liturgies they affirmed to be conformable to the decrees of the

[1] The rule is as follows:—Find the full moon after the 6th of January, or Feast of the Baptism of Christ; and from that full moon, if it falls on a Monday, or if not, from the Monday following, count twenty-six days. The twenty-sixth day, if it be itself a Monday; or if not, the Monday following, will be the first of the three days fast of Jonas. To this add eighteen exclusive, which will give the Sunday before Ash-Wednesday. From this Sunday is a fast or Lent of fifty days to Easter.

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Council of Nice, A.D. 325. *They denied that they were, or ever had been, Nestorians.* They said that a Nestorian bishop had come into their country in 1545; and another since, in 1708[1], who was received as a bishop, though his doctrines were rejected. Of Eutyches they had heard, and believed that he was an enemy to Christianity. The shumshanas, or deacons, are ordained at the early age of ten or twelve; every kasheesa or presbyter must be at least twenty-four, unless in cases of particular exigency, and is examined for holy orders by the malpan, or doctor. A bishop must be thirty-three years old. Ordination is conferred by imposition of hands by the bishop and three or four presbyters. For the consecration of a bishop, more than one bishop is, in general, necessary; but, in Malabar, circumstances compel them to be satisfied with one. They have the Malayalim translation in many of their churches, and consider it good and plain, so that children may understand it. It was made by Ramban Joseph, who was then the bishop, by the name of Mar Dionysius, under the direction of the *late* bishop of the same name. The number of their services in each church depends on the number of the catanars; for no priest ever administers mass to another. They have a

[1] Doubtless Mar Gabriel, who lived and died a Nestorian. —See archdeacon Robinson's last Days of Heber, Appendix, p. 38.

catechism, though it is but little used. They have no schools; and did not seem to know whether they ever had any. They, however, did not express the slightest objection to them, but said that the young, for the most part, are taught at home to repeat the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue: and that, besides this, it was afterwards stated to be a common practice with many families to have domestic worship every evening after sunset, and then to talk on religious subjects, for the purpose of instructing their children. With respect to the Decalogue, it must be noted, that the second commandment is altogether omitted, and the tenth divided into two, precisely after the Romish fashion; a proof that the purest Syrian Churches have not wholly escaped the Popish infection.

In the administration of baptism, they have one godfather for a boy, and one godmother for a girl. The sign of the cross is made with oil on the eyes, nose, ears, and mouth of the infant, to denote that those senses are, thenceforth, dedicated to the service of God; but no salt is placed on the tongue. The form of baptism is, "Be thou blessed and perfected, in the name of the Father, Amen,—of the Son, Amen, —and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." In celebrating the Eucharist they use leavened bread, made at the time of the service, and some of the leaven is preserved till the next sacrament. They stamp

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the wafer with a cross dipped in oil from Bussorah, which, however, is not consecrated oil. No deacon is allowed to administer the sacrament; or to become a bishop, without being first ordained priest. The priests administer the Eucharist to themselves during the mass, and receive the elements separately. For the laity, the bread is dipped in the wine; and thus the two are administered together, after the mass. During the service the congregation stand; but kneel at the consecration and reception of the sacrament, and bow themselves to the ground at the beginning and the end of the service. The women are placed nearer to the skreen than the men, and separate from them. The catanars declared that they should feel no difficulty in conforming with the Church of England, if they could but be allowed to retain the privilege of separate communion, which gives them an opportunity of separate confession; whereas the laity confess and receive the sacrament only three times a-year. They reject the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, but still believe the bread and wine to be the body and blood of Christ in some obscure and mystical sense, conformably to the language of John vi. They have no belief in purgatory, and imagine that, after death, there is one common receptacle, where the spirits of the just exist in an intermediate state of hope and peace, while the souls of the

impenitent are tormented by a fearful looking for of judgment. They, nevertheless, use prayers for the dead; as many as forty days for a rich man, and not more than one for a poor man; but they confess that their poverty rather than their will consents to this practice, and that they continue it chiefly as a source of income!

They keep St. Thomas's day on the 21st of December, and on the 3d of July they celebrate the removal of his body from St. Thomè. It has already appeared that holy water is in use among them; and the Bishop now learned that the water is consecrated with a little of the earth on which St. Thomas stood, wherever so precious a relic can be procured; though, if that sacred dust is not to be obtained, frankincense is substituted for it,—a circumstance which shews that the tradition respecting the apostle is still prevalent in the country. Their great ecclesiastical censure is excommunication: but besides this they have an inferior penalty, a sort of rebuke, which is very simply, but very significantly and effectually, administered by the priest's omitting to notice the offender, when the congregation pass and receive the priest's blessing. When they are re-admitted to the peace of the church, their reconciliation is completed by their taking the hands of the priest between their own.

In the Syrian, as well as the Syro-Roman Churches, the priests have long lived in celibacy

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(probably ever since the intrusion of the Portuguese). For this practice the Syrians have no other reason to produce, but that such is the custom: and the establishment and preservation of this custom has, no doubt, been unhappily facilitated by the extreme poverty of the clergy. They are, however, by no means bound to abstinence from matrimony; and, through the encouragement of Colonel Munro, the British resident in Travancore, and the permission of their own bishop, several of the clergy have of late become married men; and many would, probably, follow their example, if their incomes were sufficient for the support of a family. Matrimony is not reckoned among their sacraments, though they decidedly regard it as a solemn religious contract. In the celebration of it, the bridegroom throws a cloth over the bride, as an emblem of her obligation to obedience. They have one very remarkable custom, which has a strong savour of Judaism. If a woman be delivered of a male child, she does not enter the church for forty days. If she produces a female child, she is excluded from the church for double that time[1].

Besides keeping Wednesday and Friday as fast-days, throughout the year, and observing the great fast of Lent, they have other solemn

[1] See Levit. xii. 2—5.

seasons of rigid abstinence, which correspond pretty nearly with those of the Greek Church; namely, one of fourteen days before St. Peter's day; another of fourteen days previous to the Assumption of the Virgin, in August; and, lastly, a fast in December, preparatory to Christmas.

With regard to doctrine, they profess their belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. They acknowledge Jesus Christ to be very God and very Man; and they call the Virgin Mary the Mother of God. The Apostle's Creed is used in their service, and they receive no other. They have no conception of the doctrine of absolute predestination, but imagine that every man may be saved by faith and repentance.

Thus ended this most interesting conference; which, however, it must be recollected, was carried on through the medium of a native Portuguese interpreter, who, though sufficiently intelligent, and of respectable attainments, was not very intimately acquainted with English. In endeavouring to interpret the expressions and terms which occurred in the Bishop's questions, he might not always distinctly comprehend his Lordship's meaning; so that some errors and misconceptions may have been inadvertently recorded. When the conference was over, the Bishop offered his warm acknowledgments to

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these worthy men for their frank communications, and spoke to them in kind and honourable terms of the knowledge and intelligence they had displayed, which, he said, were signally creditable to them under their present circumstances of suffering and depression. He then expressed an earnest hope that they would patiently study their Scriptures, and carefully teach the children of their poor. They replied by protesting their readiness to do so, and by requesting his paternal protection and kind offices. Colonel Munro, they said, had proved himself substantially their friend, by employing many of them as writers. Captain Blacker, too, had first set the example of employing about one hundred of them at Cochin. But they had been so long unused to kindness and confidence, that they were still extremely retiring in their demeanour, and appeared almost painfully distrustful of themselves.

On the 8th of October, the Bishop and his party proceeded to Moolantoorty, which has a large and handsome church, the ceiling of which is almost profusely ornamented with little roses in compartments, and coloured in a manner not very dissimilar to the ceiling in the chancel of some churches in England. Over the main altar is a figure or head of the Father, having the Son on the right hand, and the dove on the left. Below, are carved figures of the

Apostles and the Last Supper. The heads had been broken off by the iconoclastic zeal of the bishops sent from Antioch in the middle of the last century, two of whom, Yohannè and Gregorio, were buried in the chancel of this very church. The priests here not only denied transubstantiation, but seemed to consider the Eucharist chiefly as a commemoration of the death of Christ. They denied that it was their custom to offer adoration to saints; but allowed that they addressed the spirits of holy men as intercessors who might present their supplications before the throne of God. On one side of the arch of this church, at the western entrance, is a Syriac inscription, a copy of which was given to Bishop Middleton. It was afterwards ascertained that this is the only instance of the kind throughout the churches of Malabar. At the west end of the church was a gallery, to be reached by stairs: a portion of it was boarded up, so as to form an apartment, which, it seems, constituted the dormitory, and, perhaps, the sole residence, of the priest. The party were allowed to enter, and to survey the accommodations of this *incumbent*. They consisted of an ordinary bedstead, a *gindeg* or washing basin, a vessel for cooking rice, a lamp with cocoa nut oil, and, lastly, a small staff, tipped with silver, exhibiting, altogether, a picture at least of the simplicity and the poverty of primitive times!

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On the same day the Bishop reached Candenaad. The church at this place is more than usually ornamented, and the decorations are executed with greater skill and care than at Moolantoorty. It is chiefly remarkable as containing the remains of an ancient Mafrian, or Jacobite bishop[1], called Shokerullah, who was buried by the altar in the year 937. If this account be true, it would seem to lend confirmation to the suspicion intimated above, that the Jacobite doctrines may have found their way to Malabar long previously to the arrival of the Portuguese. The clergy produced a large quarto MS. of hymns, brought from Antioch by one of those three Mafrians who have been mentioned above, and who came from Antioch about 1751. These hymns, however, were seldom used, and apparently not at all prized, as they were most readily parted with to Bishop Middleton. That the zeal of the iconoclasts had been at work in this church, as well as in the last, appeared probable from the headless figure of an Apostle near the altar. They shewed a complete copy of the Syriac Bible, and profess to use the whole of the Scrip-

[1] But see Robinson's Last Days of Heber, p. 41, which speaks of a Syrian clergyman called Shokerullah, in 1751. It appears that Basilius, the Jacobite bishop, was buried at Candenaad about that time. The church has also a tomb over the remains of Mar Thomas, a Syrian.

tures. They have a small Malayalim school; and the effect is, that almost all can read and write. It is curious enough that the teacher of this school is a heathen, although the books and lessons are entirely Christian. At the west end of the church a woman was seen, performing a fast of twelve days, in pursuance of a vow. During that period she is bound to eat only once in twenty-four hours, and taste neither flesh, fish, nor milk. At the expiration of the vow the woman would confess, and then receive the sacrament. Near to this church was a Romish chapel, the priest of which was in attendance, and ready to receive the Bishop. His lordship, however, declined entering it, being desirous of devoting his limited time to the examination of Syrian rather than Romish places of worship.

The day concluded with a visit to the church of Udiampoor[1], about one mile from Candenaad. Bishop Middleton now stood within those very walls which had witnessed the sessions of that celebrated synod, summoned by the furious and oppressive bigot Mezenes, and which had seen the barbarous destruction of the ancient Syriac records of the Christianity of Malabar! The place had altogether a Popish aspect. The altar was crowded with figures and images of

[1] Or Diampore, usually written Diamper.

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our Saviour, and of St. John, and of St. Sebastian, and lastly, a print of Sir F. Drake, before the cross. In the north side of the wall was a niche, containing an image of St. Michael, and corresponding to it on the south side, was a figure of our Lord upon the cross. On the outside of the rails, or skreen, stood a small pulpit to the south; and a *ladder* leading up to it. On the northern wall was a picture of a woman confessing to the priest, while the devil was crouching at her elbow! From this place the party returned by water to Balghatty.

CHAPTER XI.

The Bishop continues his visits to the Syrian churches—Verapoli—Agaparumboo—Attends the Syrian celebration of Divine Service—Angamale, conversation with the Syrian Zachariah—Tekkah Peroor—Places where St. Thomas is said to have erected crosses—Kotim—Conference with the Syrian Bishop Mar Dionysius—Mar Philoxenus—Alepie—General reflections on the state of the Syrian Churches—Character of the native foresters in Malabar.

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THE Bishop having rested one day at Captain Blacker's, on the 10th of October commenced the northern portion of his circuit; in which the first place to be visited was Verapoli, the seat of one of the three vicars apostolic, appointed by the Holy See, under the immediate authority of the congregation de Propagandâ at Rome. The chief object of attention here is the seminary for the education of missionaries. It presents nothing very striking or remarkable; there is a gallery with some few pictures, apparently copies from good ones: and there is a library containing about 300 volumes, in much better preservation than those at Goa. Even of these, some are stamped with the mark of prohibition,

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as heretical; and, of the rest, the greater portion appeared to consist of the biography of saints, tomes of controversy, with histories of Jesuit missions, and Portuguese conquests. There are two apartments for study opening into each other by folding doors. About twenty students were assembled in each. Those students who are strictly of the Church of Rome, are habited in black; the Syro-Roman students, in white. They were furnished with printed Syriac grammars, and some few other books from the Propagandâ Society. In each room was an altar with crosses and images, and a canopy, with the initials S. L. G. (Saint Louis Gonsalvo). According to the accounts of these people, there are sixty-six Syro-Roman churches, and eighteen Roman, under the Bishop of Verapoli; and, in all, about 80,000 native Christians, acknowledging obedience to the See of Rome. The church is after the model of St. Peter's, on a very small scale.

On Friday, Oct. 11, Bishop Middleton and archdeacon Barnes proceeded to the Church of Agaperumboo, (or Accaparamba) for the purpose of being present at divine service, which, in the Syrian churches, is performed every morning, usually at eight o'clock, though the time is at the discretion of the priest. The catanar, having notice of the Bishop's intention, awaited his arrival. At a quarter past eight he appeared,

and was met by several of the catanars, who conducted him from the entrance of the enclosure round the church, to the west door. They were preceded by tom-toms and cymbals, the noise of which did not hinder the catanars from chanting a Syriac hymn. The musicians remained on the outside of the church. The Bishop and the archdeacon were conducted within the skreen; they declined sitting, although chairs had attentively been procured for them. The kasheesa, who was to officiate, wore a black cassock with a red leathern girdle: but when he approached the altar, where the whole service is performed, he put over this cassock a white surplice, and a red damask mantle, which hung behind over his shoulders; green silk sleeves from the wrist to the elbow, a *cape* or hood, and, lastly, a green silk pall meeting in front. On the north side of the table were two shumshanas or deacons in white, the kasheesa himself standing in front of the altar. Before the commencement of the regular service the shumshanas sung a short morning hymn; the bell then tolled for a few minutes, and the music played at the west entrance. When this was over, the kasheesa commenced by chanting a hymn, to which the shumshanas responded, and during that time he frequently turned himself round to the people from the east, by the south, to the west. Another catanar then read the portion of Scripture

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in the service, and to afford the congregation an opportunity of sitting. During this interval, two bells are tolled, as if to give notice of the communion service, which follows next. When the curtain is again drawn aside, the priest commences by repeating the Lord's Prayer to the people: he then makes the sign of the cross in the air. At the consecration of the elements, he first elevates the bread, and then the wine, with both his hands, and at the moment of elevation the tom-toms and cymbals strike up loud and quick. The shumshanas then sing a hymn; the curtain is again closed, and the priest prays by himself. The curtain is then once more drawn aside, the priest comes forward with the bread in his right hand, and the wine in his left, stands in front of the table and chants a hymn, setting forth that Christ, who is crucified for us, is risen from the dead. He then turns to the altar, and takes the sacrament, in sight of the congregation, kneeling. The music at the west end once more strikes up, after which, all is silent; the priest kneels and says a short prayer to himself, rises, wipes out the chalice clean with his right hand, and the service concludes. No one received the sacrament except the officiating priest, and by him it is received in this manner every day; by the people, only at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. The whole of the service lasted about three quarters of an hour.

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While it was proceeding, the congregation stood without the skreen, and, to all appearance, had no concern in what was going on within it, and even the shumshanas perform their portion of the duty with very slight indications of pious or reverential emotion!

From the above representation it would seem that the religious services of the Indo-Syrians are far removed from the sober, unaffected solemnity of our own ritual. The celebration of the Eucharist, in particular, is unhappily encumbered with trifling and apparently superstitious forms, which one would gladly see banished from all Christian worship. And yet, unworthy as these embellishments are of a truly spiritual adoration, they are simplicity itself when compared with the multitude of toyish vanities with which the Greek Church disguises the same awful rite[1].

After the service, the Bishop with Archdeacon Barnes went up stairs and conversed with the catanars in their apartments, and from them they learned some particulars in addition to those which had been already communicated at other places. It appears that their parishes or congregations are regularly divided off by landmarks; but, besides this, each house and individual is enrolled, and all must come to their

[1] They are fully described by Ricaut.

own parish churches to receive the sacrament; neither can any one emigrate from one church to another without a testimonial of his sober life and conversation. A residence of twelve years is necessary to render a man eligible to the office of an elder. Any person who chooses may become a malpan or teacher. It may here be proper to state, once for all, that in common with all the Syrian Christians visited by Bishop Middleton, they distinctly acknowledged that there are *seven sacraments;* a statement which it is difficult to reconcile with that of La Croze, who, nevertheless, it should be remembered, professes only to repeat the accounts given by the papal historians. At the same time, it must be remarked that the notions entertained by these people of a sacrament, are extremely indefinite and vague. They seem to regard it only as a religious rite or solemnity of rather more than ordinary importance. Whether the sacramental character can properly belong to any rite not ordained by Christ himself,—or whether the ceremonies which they call sacraments had even the sanction of apostolical institution,—are questions which, probably, have never once occurred to them. It is possible, therefore, that this was a Romish innovation, which gradually established itself even among the purely Syrian congregations, and which may have escaped much obstinate resistance, from

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the belief that it involved no very momentous change in the system of their faith. The question, as viewed by them, may have been nothing more than this,—whether the appellation of a sacrament should be extended to certain religious solemnities, to which it had never been applied before?

Previously to parting with these friendly catanars, one of them promised to copy for the Bishop their canon of the Old and New Testament, which differs very slightly from our own. They produced a Syriac grammar, composed by one Philoxenus in the seventh century, a Syriac dictionary of great antiquity, and some books of prayers, copied, as they said, about 965 years ago.

The church of Agaperumboo bears melancholy witness to the destructive incursions of Tippoo Sahib. When this barbarian invaded the country, the altar-piece and the rails, together with the roof of the building, were destroyed by fire, the marks of which are to this day visible on the walls. The greater part of the edifice is now covered only with cajan; but the arch of the chancel was fortunately of stone, and therefore was able to resist the flames. A still more deplorable spectacle was exhibited at Angamale (about four miles distant), once the residence of the Syrian bishops, and able to boast of three venerable and handsome

churches. These were all laid in ruins by the barbarians of the Mysore; and two of them still remain in a state of miserable dilapidation. The only one which has been at all completely repaired is that of St. George. It has been restored with scrupulous attention to the ancient style of architecture. The roof is well covered in, but only with cajan; the chancel has been provided with a handsome ceiling, arched and fretted in the former manner; and the walls are decorated with a great variety of paintings. Of the church of St. Mary's, which is of great antiquity, nothing was left standing but the side walls: and the poor Christians have raised a cajan roof over what was the chancel, and there they still perform divine service. The third church is dedicated to a saint and martyr, called Ramban Oormeez, and is supposed to be the oldest of the three; and its pretensions are partly supported by an arch and font at the west end, whose appearance and style bespeak a very remote antiquity [1]. The chancel of this church remains in a very ruinous condition. Bishop Middleton employed a Portuguese at this place to make drawings of some parts of these edifices. The objects which he was more particularly anxious to have represented, were the exterior of St. George's, and the west front of Ramban

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[1] See drawing 6.

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Doormez at Angamale, and the interior of the church at Agaperumboo: and it was his intention to procure engravings of these[1], and to insert them; together with their ground plans, in his intended memoir on the Syrian Christians.

On Sunday, Oct. 13, the Bishop conversed with two lay Syrians, who attended to pay their respects to him; and one of whom, named Zachariah, was employed by the Bishop to transcribe for him the Syriac Liturgy. They stated that the Syrians had been settled in Malayalim almost 1500 years. They said that, although they had no monastic orders in Malabar, the higher order of priests observe a life of strict abstinence, and devote themselves to study and prayer. They confirmed the statement, which had been repeatedly made by others, that the sacraments were seven; but of these they were quite unable to give any intelligible account, and appeared greatly pleased and struck on hearing the explanation of a sacrament from our Church catechism. When the rite of confirmation is administered, they undergo an examination by their catanar; who asks them what is the number of the sacraments, but puts no question relative to their nature or their use. They are also required, on that

[1] These drawings are now in possession of Mrs. Middleton, and with her permission the engravings attached to this volume have been made.

occasion, to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. The Bishop, after thanking these persons for their communications, addressed them shortly in the language of exhortation and encouragement. In reply, they declared their readiness to hold fast their faith without wavering, and expressed their extreme anxiety for further guidance and instruction. They were now, they said, wandering about in darkness.

The church of Tekkah Paroor[1], which was hastily visited on the 14th of October, stands on a spot nearly opposite to a large cross on the other side of the back-water, which runs inland from Cochin to Quilon. Tradition reports this spot to be one of the seven places where St. Thomas originally erected a cross himself. The other six are Quilon, Cranganore, Neranam, Palloor, Cavai, Pokomimgalam or Penperam. Of these seven places, the only Syrian Church is at Neranam. The others are Syro-Roman, under the vicar-apostolic of Verapoli. The present church at Tekkah Paroor was built in 1712. It is sufficiently decorated, after the Romish manner, with paintings and carvings: it has a skreen, or *septum*, like the Syrian churches, and a small porch in front, of Syrian architecture; and the

[1] For a drawing of this church, see the frontispiece to Vol. ii. of Pearson's Memoir of Dr. Buchanan.

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whole had a look of extreme neatness and cleanliness. The padre was a very young man, of respectable appearance, habited, like all the Syro-Roman priests, in a white cassock, and black cap. He gave the party no new information, except that he used a Popish catechism in Malayalim, printed at Rome.

Bishop Middleton's arrival at Kotim was delayed, by various accidents, till after sunset. The Syrian bishop and his catanars had for some hours been anxiously expecting him; and when he came, he was conducted by torch-light to the college and seminary, in the midst of tom-toms and other country music; and under arches of flowers, which had been constructed for the occasion. The Syrian prelate received his brother of Calcutta in a small room, with scarcely any other furniture than his bed, which was covered with red velvet, and a chintz canopy, so as to form a sofa, or couch, on which he placed Bishop Middleton on one side of him. He himself sat in an old arm-chair, and Archdeacon Barnes in another. He was dressed in red silk; a golden chain, a cross of chrystal, and his mitre, lay on the bed. The confined apartment was soon filled by catanars; the window was small, and the heat quite intolerable, aggravated as it was by numerous lamps of cocoa-nut oil. The Syrian bishop, observing the distress of his visitors, requested several of the bystanders

to withdraw, and ordered two men to set the punkah in motion. A long conversation then commenced between the two bishops; which, however, was of no great importance with respect to any fresh information which it procured. From motives of delicacy Bishop Middleton was anxious to avoid all appearance of importunate curiosity, and to prevent the conference from taking the turn of an inquisitive examination. Mar Dionysius confirmed what had before been asserted by the catanars, that the Liturgy then in use was in conformity with one agreed on at the council of Nice, and had been that of St. James, St. Joseph, or St. Simon. He did not seem to be aware that their MS. New Testament had some of the Nestorian readings; and when Bishop Middleton noticed one or two, the metropolitan said, that he supposed the text must have been corrupted at Rome; and seemed to believe all the Syro-Romans to be Nestorians! After all, however, he said, with much truth, that the difference which Bishop Middleton had pointed out was only verbal, and involved nothing essential. According to his account, they had no catechism regularly authorized by their church. The list of their canonical books is in verse, which the catanars chant in a sort of recitative. It does not materially differ from our own. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah are considered as one. The rest of this interesting conversation

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related to matters which have been already introduced; and, during the whole of it, Bishop Middleton was occupied in taking copious memoranda. When it was finished, the metropolitan bade him an affectionate farewell, and directed some of the catanars to conduct the Bishop through the college. This seminary was established chiefly by the Church Missionary Society, aided by the influence of Sir Thomas Munro. The building is a quadrangle, in which the apartments open into a verandah, or covered gallery, which runs round the whole of the interior. The number of students then on the establishment were about 200: and they are dispersed through the country as they are wanted by the churches. In one of these apartments, Mar Philoxenus, the other bishop, suddenly made his appearance. He welcomed them very courteously; and solicited the good offices of Bishop Middleton with Mr. Pearson, the judge and magistrate of Calicut, for his protection from pillage and annoyance by certain Mahometans in the vicinity. But the bishop earnestly requested supplies not only of the Gospels, in Syriac, but of the whole Bible. A greater blessing, they said, could not be conferred on the Syrian Church.

From the college the Bishop was conducted by torch-light, in the midst of tom-toms and bagpipes, to the church of Kotim, a tolerably spacious structure of plain exterior, but abundantly deco-

rated within by paintings on the walls. After a hasty examination of this building the Bishop retired to his boat, on the benches of which he passed the night. The next morning he reached Alepie, and there received a visit from three catanars, who communicated the following additional particulars. At their ordination the Syrian priests engage to observe the canons of the council of Nice. These canons, however, always remain in the custody of the bishop, and are never seen by the catanars till the moment of subscription. They have, consequently, been without the advantage of seeing the formulary of their faith constantly before them; and hence, probably, it is that the Church has been open to the incursions of erroneous doctrine. It has been mentioned above, that the Epistle and Gospel are translated into Malayalim, and explained from the altar: it was now added, that on great festivals a much ampler explanation is delivered, not from the altar, but from the rails, or *septum*. Penance being one of their sacraments, they have certain days of purification attached to it. A purification is likewise performed in every house during Lent; and it further appeared, that this sort of lustration is administered whenever it is required: and that at the end of this rite, as well as of every fast, or private vow, there follows an entertainment, which bears a considerable resemblance to the

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ancient agapæ, or love feasts. The Eucharist is not administered at extreme unction; and when it is given to sick persons, it is first consecrated in the church, and carried in procession; the people when they meet it testify great respect, but do not kneel before it: the procession most usually takes place very early in the morning.

This was the last conference which Bishop Middleton held with any of the Syrian clergy. His conversations and enquiries among them have been somewhat circumstantially related, in order to exhibit the manner in which he was compelled to collect the fragments of information respecting their customs, practices, and doctrines. In that country, it will of course be recollected, the access to such information was infinitely more circuitous and difficult than with us, where authentic publications, on almost every subject, are always at hand to supply the intelligence required. Nothing was to be done here, but by laborious and persevering examination of individuals; and the difficulty was aggravated by an occasional want of agreement in their accounts. In some instances the discrepancy may have only been apparent, and may have arisen from the imperfect mode of communication through an interpreter. In other instances, it may have been the natural consequence of the defective education of the clergy, and of the

want of articles, or confessions of faith, or authoritative manuals of doctrine, to which they could confidently and readily refer. On comparing the above representations with those of La Croze, it will immediately be perceived that there are some particulars in which they are at variance; and that, if his statements be correct, a considerable degeneracy must have taken place in the Syrian Church, since the period of the Portuguese intrusion. Upwards of two centuries ago, we are told, the Syrians knew but three sacraments; they now acknowledge seven. The appellation of Mother of God then sounded in their ears like blasphemy; but that this title duly belongs to the Holy Virgin, is now an article of their belief. Confession was then unknown. It is now regularly practised at stated seasons of the year. The accounts of their original faith tell us nothing of solitary masses; but these are now, as we have seen, among the most valued privileges of the clergy, and, as they themselves confessed, would alone be sufficient to withhold them from any union with the Church of England. These symptoms of decline from the original purity, would seem to indicate that the leaven of Romish corruption has partially wrought itself even into that portion of the mass which never could be brought into communion with Rome: and the evil may, possibly, have been aggravated by the general

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apathy which is often incident to a long continued state of national depression and adversity. We have seen that the more enlightened among them were ready to deplore the slenderness of their knowledge, and were extremely anxious for ampler means of improvement; that the humbler orders are left without any regular instruction; and that, in some parts, the congregation listens with equal indifference to the Romish or the Syrian mass. With regard to the question whether they are Jacobite or Nestorian, it is, surely, the least important of any that can be agitated respecting them. To them, there is great reason to believe, these words convey but very scanty meaning, as indicative of doctrinal differences. They hold, as we do, that the Saviour is very God and very man; and the subtleties which may be spun out of that article of their faith are, probably, much too fine for their intellectual or spiritual powers of vision. The terms Jacobite and Nestorian, therefore, are with them, in all probability, little more than mere names of party. The Jacobite is one that holds allegiance to the Primate of Antioch; while the Nestorian acknowledges only the Catholic of Mosul. At all events, whatever may have been their involuntary deviations from the precise line of orthodoxy, it is gratifying to be assured of one thing,—that they appear to be, on the whole, a

moral, guileless, simple-hearted people, and to form a striking contrast both with Papists and Hindoos. In the midst of their poverty and oppression, they retain a steady attachment to the religion of their forefathers, and are extremely solicitous to receive instruction. Nothing could exceed the joy with which the printed copies of the Syriac Gospels, presented by Bishop Middleton and Archdeacon Barnes, were received by the bishop and his clergy, or their impatience for a similar supply, comprehending the whole Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Whether they will ever be brought to symbolise exactly with the Church of England is, indeed, very doubtful: but there can be no doubt that they are prepared for an intimate and friendly communion with us, and that any good offices to them must redound most signally to the benefit and honour of our common Christianity in India.

As a supplement to the above account, extracts are here subjoined from a letter addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Bailey, Fenn, and Baker, of the Church Missionary Society, to Lieutenant-Colonel Newall, political resident, Travancore. This letter is dated from Cotyam, or Kotim, the Syrian College, 13th of March, 1822, about four years and a half later than the visit of Bishop Middleton; and its object is to obtain assistance towards the execution of certain

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plans, then in contemplation, for the benefit of this interesting people. The following statements must powerfully contribute to strengthen the sympathies of every Protestant in their behalf.

"We beg leave to call your attention to a few of the causes which have led to their decline. The breaking up of the petty sovereignties created by Cheram Perumal, through the influence of the Rajahs of Travancore and Cochin on one side, and of Hyder Ally and of the European powers on the other, cannot but be conceived to have produced a sensible alteration in the condition of the Christians, whose political importance rested entirely upon the immunities and privileges they enjoyed under that remarkable system. From being a compact body, forming either separate principalities of themselves, or aristocracies, considerable as to numbers and influence among the petty states through which they were distributed, they now formed but a small integral part of a large community, in which their consequence was left to depend solely on the opinion which their former influence had created. But independently of these causes, (which apply equally to that very remarkable body, the Jews of Cochin,) there are others which, in a more serious and peculiar manner, affect the Syrian Christians. These causes are all to be referred to the appearance of the

Roman Catholics on these shores, and the contest which this Church has consequently had to sustain, for three centuries, against the unremitted vigilance, the force, and intrigue, of an usurping and intolerant hierarchy. The preponderating influence of the Portuguese with the heathen government was all employed in forwarding the designs of the Romish emissaries: while, through the system adopted, either from policy or principle, by the Protestant states, the Syrian Church has been left unaided by any corresponding influence in the opposite direction. And the consequences of all this upon its moral and ecclesiastical condition have been indeed most deplorable. Mutual fears, suspicions, and jealousies, fomented by their enemies, and terminating in a fatal and apparently irreconcilable schism in their own body,—the destruction of their best ancient monuments, during the short calamitous interval in which they were all nominally subjected to the papal power,—together with the interruption, both then and since, of that regular intercourse with Syria, on the feeling of which depended that peculiar spirit and individuality of character for which they were formerly so distinguished;—these may be noted as the more general and direct consequences, from which others of a more particular nature, and more immediately striking the attention, have proceeded. Such

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as,—the withdrawment, from conscious weakness and want of favour, from all share in the public history of their country, in which they formerly acted so distinguished a part,—the increasing ignorance of the clergy,—their growing unacquaintance with the only language in which the principles of Divine knowledge were contained, and their consequent inability to become acquainted with these principles, far less to communicate them to the people,—the disuse of education,—the introduction of many superstitious practices unknown to their ancestors,—and a gradual verging towards many of the customs and some of the vices of the country.

"It is remarkable that, under all the causes of deterioration which have been mentioned, the character of the Syrian Christians should still present so many points of superiority. The duplicity and deceit, for which the natives of India are so proverbial, is not a feature of their character. On the contrary, they may be said to possess, in no small degree, the opposite virtues of honesty and plain dealing, accompanied with a peculiar simplicity of manner, which distinguishes them in the eyes of the stranger from the other inhabitants of the country. But we feel it would be needless to do more than hint at a subject which we humbly conceive cannot have escaped your observation.

"With regard to the actual number of these

people, it is difficult to arrive at any exact conclusion. It appears, however, most probable, as well from the reason of the case, as from the accounts of Anquetil du Perron and others, that they were a much more numerous body of people in former times than we find them to be at present. They now themselves reckon up eighty-eight churches belonging to their body; of which fifty-five have maintained their independence against the Roman pontiff. According to the most accurate estimate we have been able to form, the number of families belonging to these fifty-five churches amounts, at the lowest computation, to 13,000. The majority of these are poor, and support themselves by daily labour: others employ themselves in merchandise and agriculture. Though many among them are most highly respectable, especially those of the class termed Tarragan; yet there are none who can justly be styled men of property. There are very few indeed among them possessed of a property to the amount of 5,000 rupees.

"The number of officiating priests, commonly called catanars, is 144. These are wholly supported by the offerings of the laity, on festival days, and on the administration of the occasional rites of the Church, which, for the most part, afford but a very scanty support: and in a very few instances do the monthly offerings, received by a catanar, exceed five rupees. They are gene-

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rally of the best families; and consequently, upon their character, as to morals and information, depends, in a great degree, that of the districts in which they reside.

"A residence of nearly five years in the midst of them, in the habit of the most familiar and uninterrupted intercourse with the dignitaries of their Church, the whole body of the clergy, and the society at large, emboldens us in expressing the full conviction of our minds, that they will not prove unworthy of your favour, nor fail in answering any degree of culture which may be bestowed on them. Members of a Church venerable for her great antiquity, and which retains as her language the very dialect of our Lord and his Apostles,—using a version of the Scriptures made by apostolical men,—miraculously preserved during a succession of ages in the very midst of a heathen population, and in spite of all the violent and unceasing attacks of the Romish hierarchy, a monument of the truth of Christianity, and of the protecting care of the Most High,—they seem in a peculiar manner to call for the sympathy and assistance of a Christian and Protestant nation. And we cannot but consider all these claims as coming with a peculiar force on the members of the Anglican Church: a Church which, retaining, as no other Protestant communion has retained, those features of primitive custom and discipline that unite her with all

the unreformed Churches of apostolical original in the east and west, has at the same time suffered equally with any from the anti-Christian domination of the court of Rome; and having escaped pure from that infection and that persecution, is best prepared to feel for those who are yet groaning under the effects of both. And these circumstances of common interest with our Protestant Episcopal Church, are not wholly unknown nor unfelt by our Syrian brethren." CHAP. XI. 1816.

At Alepiè, the Bishop was met by the Rev. Mr. Norten, who, together with Captain Gordon, the conservator of the Rajah's forests, and his assistant, Mr. Walcot, were the only Europeans in the place. Mr. Norten was one of the missionaries appointed by the Church Missionary Society, and appears to have possessed a most remarkable influence over the Syrian laity in the neighbourhood; for he succeeded in procuring from them, for their catanars, more punctual fees and payments than they themselves were able to obtain. He further stated, that the metropolitan had granted him his license to preach in the Syrian churches, as soon as he should have made sufficient progress in Malayalim; a privilege of which Bishop Middleton recommended a very cautious use. Experience had already shewn that it was not impossible to scatter discord among the Syrians; and the ministrations of a stranger not intimately familiar with their

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idiom, either of speech or thought, might very seriously aggravate the evil.

From Mr. Norten and Mr. Walcot he learned many interesting particulars respecting the adjacent country. The forests in Malabar, it should be understood, are royalties, under the superintendence of officers appointed by the East India Company; and from them the dock-yards at Bombay are supplied with teak. Of these forests Mr. Walcot was deputy conservator; and being frequently carried by his public duties to the neighbouring hills, was enabled to speak of the habits and character of the mountaineers. He described them as a wild, inhospitable, and inaccessible race, who declined all intercourse with Europeans, and who, to avoid the approach of strangers, would retreat to their own hiding places. Some dealings, indeed, they have with their civilized neighbours; but these are carried on wholly by barter, and conducted in a manner which remarkably indicates their distrustful and unsocial habits: they deposit whatever they wish to dispose of in some well-known spot, and then retire; returning afterwards to take away what is left in exchange for it. The prejudice and bigotry of the Brahmins in this region of Malabar exceeded all that had been heard of in other parts. They approach some of their temples by ways wholly sacred to themselves, separate paths being made for the use of coolies and

other profane persons; and so rigidly do they adhere to their rules of ceremonial pollution, that a quantity of rice, deposited in a pagoda, was held to be contaminated by the presence of an English traveller, who accidentally took shelter there, when overtaken by a storm. They even had the almost incredible effrontery to demand payment of him for the whole quantity of provision which he had thus unwillingly and ignorantly rendered unclean, and no longer fit for the consumption of the heavenly men;—a requisition which, it is needless to say, was resisted, and which it does not appear that they were able to enforce.

CHAPTER XII.

The Bishop arrives at Colombo—Reception by Sir Robert Brownrigg—Native converts—Temple at Challangcabash —Promising aspect of Christianity in Ceylon—The Bishop's sermon in the Fort—Letter to Mr. Watson—to Mr. Ward —to Mr. T. Courteney—Rev. Walter Williams appointed chaplain at Cochin—Encouraging prospect of usefulness there—His removal by the Madras government—Letter of Mr. Rich from Bagdad—Letter of the Bishop on the death of Mr. Tolfrey.

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On the 16th of October the Bishop and his companions embarked for Colombo, in Ceylon, which he reached on the 21st. He was received with due honours by the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, and his staff. On the following morning he was attended by the civil and military gentlemen of the settlement, and by several Protestant teachers. Nothing could exceed the unremitting courtesy of the governor, who studied to make the Bishop's visit agreeable, by the exhibition of interesting objects, and the introduction of worthy and estimable characters. Of the persons thus brought to his notice, the most remarkable were two converts to Christ-

ianity, the one from the religion of Bhudd, the other from that of Mahomet. The Bhuddist, John Naderis de Silva, was formerly a priest. His appearance and conversation indicated a high degree of intelligence. Among other subjects, he spoke of the æra of the Bhuddists, which, according to his mode of reckoning, seemed to commence about 500 years before the Christian, conformably to the received notion that Bhudd was contemporary with Pythagoras. The Christian name of the Mahometan convert was Theophilus; who appeared to derive great satisfaction from a remark of the Bishop, that, although Mahomet professed to come with a *revelation* from God, he had in truth made no *revelation* at all: for that, with the exception of what relates personally to Mahomet himself, the Koran contains absolutely nothing which deserves to be called new.

The Bhuddist temple at Challangcabash, seven miles distant from Colombo, was perhaps the most remarkable object which the Bishop had an opportunity of seeing. There is nothing in the appearance of the building to arrest the attention: externally it differs little from an ordinary dwelling-house. The party were received by the priests in their yellow robes, having the right arm and shoulder bare, conformably to the costume in which Bhudd himself is usually represented in his images. At this

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place the figure of him is very ancient, (upwards of 400 years old,) and is fixed against the wall in a small room, having a table before it, which is kept constantly covered with flowers. From the head there appears to issue something like a flame; which, however, the priests describe merely as a head-leaf,—an ornament, the import of which was not explained. The countenance of this figure was, possibly, designed to express sublime abstraction; it was, however, round and unmeaning, and actually expressed nothing, except the total absence both of thought and passion. In an adjoining apartment, however, there is another image, the face of which has an expression of sleepy voluptuousness, rather than contemplative serenity. At the back of the temple is a spacious building, called the daguba, which is said to contain various portions of the mortal fabric of Bhudd himself, distributed through different parts of the edifice; and in front of the temple is a room where the priests instruct the people by preaching, or, as they call it, by reading the Bana. Near this apartment the Bishop was shewn certain grants of land, engraved on stone; one of these documents was not *read*, but *chanted*, by one of the priests, and a translation of it afterwards exhibited.

The remaining objects of the Bishop's notice, were the Wesleyan mission, who were printing the discourses and miracles of our Lord, in Cin-

galese; the Malabar school, established and supported by Lady Brownrigg; the seminary for the education of the Cingalese; the Christian village of Galkrese, where the governor was at that time building a church; and, lastly, the military and orphan schools.

This visit to Ceylon his lordship always remembered as among the most gratifying incidents of his life. Here was an island, prodigally gifted by Providence, under the immediate and absolute dominion of the British crown, ruled by a governor who had no other principle of action but the temporal and eternal welfare of the people; and, through his paternal care, rapidly advancing in civilization and Christianity. The diffusion of knowledge and religion was here spoken of with as little reserve as it is in England. The establishment of schools—the building of churches—the circulation of books—the conversion of the natives—all designs, in short, for the moral and intellectual improvement of this dependency—were going forward with a *free course*. Here were no terrors or prejudices to put a spell upon the birth of noble and benevolent enterprises;—here were no scruples lest the native superstition should be alarmed into violent reaction against our enlightened and charitable purposes. The character of the people seemed of itself to make all such apprehensions contemptible. Whether

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from natural temperament, or from a more liberal intercourse with the Europeans, they appeared to be open, cheerful, and confiding; without a suspicion that any sinister or unfriendly motive could be lurking beneath the fair words and kindly deeds of their benefactors. Their very countenance and demeanour shewed that they were without jealousy or misgiving. In the neighbourhood of the governor's country residence at Mount Lavinia, more particularly, the Bishop was deeply gratified in observing that the inhabitants, instead of gazing on the party with a stare of vacant apathy, ruffled only by occasional alarm, appeared to give the strangers a cheerful and smiling welcome, and to recognise the governor as a personal friend. It is hardly to be imagined that the Bishop should look upon this delightful spectacle without being tempted to place in melancholy contrast with it the vast scene of his own interminable labours, the difficulties which were sown thickly in every region of the soil he had to subdue, and the comparative destitution in which he was left to conflict with every form of resistance. He could hardly fail to see how enviable a lot would be that of a bishop of Colombo alone, without any greater extent of diocese to distract and to oppress him! The governor, indeed, expressed himself extremely anxious that the island should be placed under

his spiritual jurisdiction; and from what he saw of the natives, and of their seeming love of order and regularity, he was persuaded that the episcopal function might be most beneficially exercised among them. There could be little reason to doubt that they would readily embrace the communion of our Church, if they had constantly before their eyes a person invested with high authority, who might consecrate their places of worship, confer holy orders on their clergy, and administer the rite of confirmation to their youth. Ceylon was, indeed, subsequently *added* to the diocese of Calcutta: but this was doing little more than mocking the island with a glimpse of the benefits to be derived from episcopal discipline, while it increased a load already sufficient to crush any human energy!

The two colonial chaplains then residing in Colombo, were the honourable and reverend T. Twisleton, subsequently the first archdeacon of Colombo, and the reverend G. Bisset. From them the Bishop derived every possible assistance and information; and it is satifactory to record, that not only the clergy, but the missionaries of all denominations, (the Americans alone excepted,) paid their respects to the Bishop, and thankfully received his suggestions and advice. The Wesleyan missionaries indeed, attend regularly the service of the Church, and

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were present when he delivered a discourse at the Fort Church in Colombo. His lordship had the further gratification to leave behind him one permanent memorial of his transitory connection with Ceylon, in establishing a committee of that venerable Society, whose honour and prosperity never were long absent from his thoughts, and which now was in full connection with all the chief stations in India. The benefits to be derived from a depôt here of the Society's religious publications, may be well understood from the fact, that the Auxiliary Bible Society, had been under the necessity of printing portions of the Gospels, as tracts, for the use of schools and native Christians; and so strong a conviction was felt of the necessity of circulating explanatory religious treatises, to prepare the minds of the people for more easily understanding the Holy Scriptures, that a subscription had been opened and a fund established for this purpose [1].

It may be proper to notice, in this place, that Ceylon, in one respect, offers some peculiar facilities for the establishment of Christianity, beyond those which are to be found in continental India: the distinction of castes, it is true, is in full action there, but the institution is not so intimately connected with the national religion,

[1] See Reports of the Colombo Bible Society.

as in other parts of India. By embracing the Gospel a Cingalese does not incur that dreadful excommunication, which frowns upon the Hindoo when he deserts the faith of his fathers. With this people, the distinction is wholly and entirely civil; but, in this view, it is most rigidly observed. Nothing can be more impassable than the gulf which is fixed between the different ranks of society in Ceylon. In no country on earth, perhaps, is the spirit of aristocracy more arrogant and more intolerant. In the school, and, with regret it must be added, even *in the Church*, the [1] Vellales and Chalias will not sit together; and the lower classes are forbidden to assume the privileges of wearing the comb, covering their houses with tiles, or of having the tom-tom beat at their weddings! These are odious distinctions, from which the genius of Christianity is as utterly abhorrent, as it is from the inhuman antipathies by which the various shades of tropical complexion are proscribed in the western world. But if the spirit of a benevolent and enlightened policy, should continue to preside over the destinies of this island, it is probable that these absurd prejudices,—allowed to

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[1] The Vellales are of the highest native rank in caste; the Chalias are supposed to have been originally foreigners, and are chiefly employed as cinnamon-peelers and palankeen-bearers.

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remain under the wretched system by which the Dutch increased their number of nominal Christians,—may, in the course of a few generations, retire before the mild and beneficent light of Gospel truth.

It is well known that the current language spoken by the burghers of Colombo is corrupted Portuguese. This numerous and respectable class of people had been in a great degree excluded from the benefit of joining in public worship, through the want of a Protestant Church, in which the service should be performed in a language intelligible to them. Through the exertions of Mr. Twisleton, with the assistance of government, a neat substantial church was erected for their use, which was opened for the first time about six weeks before the Bishop's arrival. A reprint of the Prayer Book in Portuguese had been undertaken also by Mr. Twisleton, to which the Bishop gave every encouragement. The Tamul translation of the Prayer Book is used in this island by the Malabar native Christians,—and towards the expense of re-printing it at Madras, the Ceylon government contributed 500 pagodas. The Bishop now requested his name to be added for 100 pagodas.

On Sunday the 27th of October, 1816, the Bishop preached in the church at the fort, from Isaiah lxii. 1. In this discourse, after dwelling solemnly and powerfully on the topics naturally

suggested by the text, he concludes in a strain which most happily combines a spirit of genuine Catholic liberality, with an uncompromising fidelity to the Church whose orders he bore. It were not easy, he observes, to find a Christian assembly more capable than this, of feeling the sentiments I have laboured to impress. The efforts made within the limits of this government for propagating the faith of *righteousness and salvation* are, probably, in proportion to the means afforded, without a parallel in the modern history of the East. At the same time it was to be remembered, that the variety of Christian persuasions which circumstances had introduced into this island, exposed the cause of the Gospel to peculiar hazard. Our national Church, he justly contended, had no tenets, either of doctrine or of discipline, which might not be traced to the primitive ages of the Gospel; and it was gratifying to reflect that the moderation of her principles rendered her the fittest basis on which the fabric of the Christian faith might be reared in these regions. He abjured the thought of asking any class of men to abandon their deep and deliberate convictions; but he held it right to remind them, that the time would come when converts would *compare* their opinions; and if they then should find among the professors of the truth such contradictions, as usually belong to the character of falsehood, they would either relapse into their

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former unbelief, or cause divisions in the Church of Christ. My council, therefore, he adds, is that of the Apostle :—" *Take heed lest this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak* [1]." " *Speak the same thing; be joined together in the same mind, and the same judgment* [2]." And I offer it not from any conviction that it is already needed, but in the way of prevention, and in the spirit of conciliation and love.

Finally, he reminded them that the most fatal discrepancy which a native could detect would be a disagreement between the doctrines and the practice of our religion. The righteousness of our faith must not resemble the flashing of a meteor which is gazed at for a moment, and then is lost in darkness. It must be a pure and placid light, issuing from the sanctuary of a heart devoted to God, and enlightened by his Holy Spirit. He concluded by praying that the Almighty would make them instruments of revealing to those who were still in darkness, the glory of our Zion, so that it might go forth from that favoured spot, and be visible through the Eastern world.

It must, doubtless, have been signally gratifying to the Bishop to find that this friendly and charitable counsel was received in a spirit of corresponding kindness, and that the Wesleyans united with the governor and the clergy

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 9. [2] Ibid. i. 10.

in a request that the sermon might be printed. On the 30th of October, the Bishop embarked for Calcutta, and a few days after his embarkation, addressed a long letter to his friend Mr. Watson. The following portions of this most interesting and instructive despatch will give a comprehensive view of the general results of his primary visitation, as contemplated by himself.

TO JOSHUA WATSON, ESQ.

At sea, 100 miles eastward of Ceylon,
November 8, 1816.

Since I left Madras I have travelled over land through the whole of the south of India by Cape Comorin to Cochin; thence by sea to Bombay, where I remained some months, and thence to the spot where I now am; after touching at Goa, and visiting the convents and churches at Cananore, where I confirmed; at Cochin, where I visited the Syrian Christians, and was among them ten days; and at Colombo, in Ceylon, where I also passed ten days, and which place I left ten days ago. The history of such a visitation would fill a volume; I have seen, perhaps, every thing in India which is at all important with reference to Christianity.

As to the general effects of the visitation, I trust that it has not been altogether without the blessing of God. I have not converted either

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Mussulmans or heathens, but I have countenanced and encouraged others who are so employed. I have "set things in order" among our own people; I have confirmed and delivered a suitable exhortation to about 1,000 people, mostly adults; I have made our religion a little more visible; I have established district committees of our Society; and, what perhaps is not the least important, I have made myself acquainted with the state of India in all points which respect the maintenance and propagation of religion. I hope that these and similar effects have made my labours not wholly useless; and I am well convinced that no man can perform the duties of a Bishop in this country with any great benefit to the cause of religion, who is either too old or too indolent to travel, and to encounter the inconveniences and fatigues of living in a camp in this melting climate, or of going to sea. I cannot promise myself health and strength to make such an exertion many times; but while I am able I shall think it my duty to pass a great part of every third year as I have now done the last ten months. As my stay at Bombay was so long after consecrating the church, (which was still unconsecrated, though it had been used 100 years), I had frequent opportunities of preaching, about three Sundays out of four, during my stay; and I also recollected that bishops should keep hospi-

tality: the effect of both has been, that I have left behind me a favourable impression of episcopacy, in which view principally I value the testimonies of respect afforded me by the inhabitants of that settlement. On the last two Sundays I preached to them on 1 Thess. iii. 12, 13, an hour each time, and scarcely any person was absent. On the morning of my departure, the governor and members of council called upon me to bid me farewell; and the clergy and many of the principal inhabitants assembled at the pier-head to wish me a good voyage, and to see me safely embarked. At Goa I saw the viceroy, who received me with great distinction, but I saw nothing of the archbishop. He is, I understand, a very respectable man, and I should have had no scruple about the interchange of common civilities; however, though my arrival was as well known in Goa as any thing which has happened there these hundred years, the archbishop made no overtures by sending to enquire how I did, or to welcome me in the usual way; and I could not, with any propriety, make the first advances. CHAP. XII. 1816.

Of my visit to the Syrian Christians you may perhaps hear more hereafter, as I am in possession of more precise information concerning them than has yet been given to the public; and I am actually at work upon their Liturgy. I have now before me in Syriac their offices of baptism and

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marriage, and the services of all the great festivals, and I have employed their scribes to make a copy of their whole ritual and formularies, which, with what I collected on the spot, will tell me all that can be known concerning the Syriac Church in Malabar. Since I have been in India, I have been placed in many singular situations; but what think you of an *English Bishop* in a country house belonging to a *Hindoo Rajah*, sitting at the head of a table, and examining a body of Syrian clergy, as to their tenets and articles of faith? In this situation I was placed about a month since; twelve of the clergy and four learned laymen, by the direction of the Syrian archbishop, assembled at a place in my route; and having taken their seats upon mats for want of chairs, answered interrogatories previously drawn up by me, and many others, which the course of enquiry suggested. This lasted for two hours and a half; besides which I had several interviews with smaller parties. *Upon the whole I am more disposed to admire the knowledge of these people, than to complain of their ignorance, considering their utter want of books and education:* and my regard for the honour of our Society induces me to wish that I could make it the instrument of improving this singular people. They are very ready to receive instruction; and my visit to them,—though I did not propose, having no such authority, to unite

them with the Church of England,—has evidently had the effect of teaching them to look up to us, and of preparing them to receive favourably any thing that we might do for them; the danger is, lest while we endeavour to instruct them, we should divide them, and thus drive one half of them into the arms of the Church of Rome. The resident at Travancore takes a great interest in the Syrians, and supports them with all his influence, which is very great; and he will not admit any missionaries into the country but those of the Church of England.

In this country,—where every thing is done by correspondence, and where every thing is so irregular and anomalous in ecclesiastical matters, that I am without a guide,—business which requires immediate attention keeps me constantly employed, and hardly leaves me leisure to mature plans of improvement, especially considering the oppressive feelings occasioned by the heat, and the almost incessant interruptions to which I am liable at Calcutta.

But to return to my narrative,—

Hardly any thing in India is so interesting as Ceylon. I went thither from an invitation given me long since by the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg; of whom, both in his public capacity, as well as on account of his private worth, I cannot speak too warmly. He devotes his whole time and attention to the happiness and improvement

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of the people committed to his care. Christianity is making a slow, but, I think, a sure progress, under his auspices. He is building churches, and founding schools, and providing for converts who make any sacrifices by the conversion, as ought to be done every where. To a person who has lived some time on the continent of India, it is quite surprising to hear people talking publicly of promoting Christianity, just as you do in England; but still the instruments by which this object is to be obtained, are mostly persons not of the Established Church. There are at Colombo, two English chaplains, both zealous men, and, I really believe, well attached to the establishment, Mr. Twisleton and Mr. Bisset; the latter is also a scholar; I think, upon the whole, the most scholar-like man I have met with in the country, where classical knowledge is, however, very rare. But the rest,—with the exception of two or three chaplains, at distant stations, of whom I know nothing,—are missionaries, Wesleyans, Baptists, Portuguese, Papists, and American Puritans. The Wesleyans are highly spoken of, and are the most efficient; both they and the Baptists attend the service of the Church pretty regularly; but the Americans, the only persons of a religious character who did not call to pay their respects to me, are, from all I heard, the most fanatical of their tribe, and talk in a strain which has not been heard in

England since the time of the roundheads. All the Protestants, however, act together with tolerable cordiality, and the clergy countenance them, so far as they can, without making improper concessions. In this manner the work is going on; and otherwise it could not go on at all.

It is high time that Ceylon should have a bishop; and the governor and clergy do me the honour to think that it should be made subject to the bishoprick of Calcutta. A representation to this effect is immediately to be sent to his Majesty's government; though possibly there may be a demur, on account of the expense, as the island is yet by no means a source of revenue, though it is rapidly improving; and some little addition of income would be necessary, if it were merely to enable me to meet additional demands. As it is, I have little to spare; as the calls upon me, (which, however, were not considered), are much greater than upon persons having twice my salary; and they are calls which I do not wish to evade, nor could I evade them without renouncing the character in which I ought to appear.

At Ceylon, the Bible Society was established before I left England; and as by means of committees it embraces objects not within the reach of the Society, (considered as a Bible Society), such as the distribution of tracts, it in some

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measure resembles our Society in its objects and designs. In fact, it is admitted, both at Colombo and Bombay, that the mere distribution of Bibles, without note or comment, among people who can receive the Sacred Scriptures only in small portions, and that with a great deal of explanation, is almost useless. Still, however, prayer-books in Ceylon, as in every part of India, are extremely scarce, and so are school-books; and, therefore, I suggested the propriety of having a committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The attempt, I understand, was made some time ago, in consequence of a suggestion from the Bishop of London, but some how or other it failed. I talked over the business with the governor and clergy, and they gave me reason to hope that the measure will now be carried. The committee, however, will necessarily be upon a small scale: the European population at Colombo is very limited . . . . . Still, however, I shall rejoice to find that Ceylon has its Bartlett's Buildings as well as the three presidencies; and beyond that I do not know in what manner I can extend its influence. If the committee be established, I think I shall probably avail myself of my credit with the Society in printing a Cingalese prayer-book. It is much wanted, and would be creditable to us as well as useful; and unless it be done in this way, I do not see how it can be accomplished at all;

I have engaged a competent person to make the translation without any expense. The prayer-book is printing at Madras in Tamul, towards which the government gave 200*l.* and I myself forty; and one from Ceylon is on board my ship on its way to Calcutta, to be printed; so that if the work be well done, the doctrines of our Church will be sufficiently accessible in Tamul or Malabar.

While I was in Ceylon, I preached on Isaiah lxii. 1, with particular reference to the circumstances of the island, and I ventured, in a strain of great moderation, to advert to the discordant tenets of the missionaries, and to recommend to them (they were all at church) to approximate as nearly as they could to the Church of England, which I represented as better suited, from the moderation of her principles, to receive converts than any of the Churches now existing in the world. So far was this from giving offence, that the Wesleyan missionaries concurred in the request of the governor and clergy, that I would print my sermon . . . . . Pray exhort our common friends of the Church of England, to be frequent in their remembrances of one, who, far removed from them, is labouring with his best, though humble ability, in the same blessed cause; nor could any other consideration reconcile me to so many privations.

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This valuable and important communication was soon followed by another to Mr. Ward, which, though it touches upon several of the same subjects, could not be omitted without injury to the writer. It may here be observed, once for all, that the correspondence of the Bishop with this gentleman, is always interesting for its tone of cheerfulness and hope. When he is in communication with those honoured fellow-labourers, who, like himself, were more immediately engaged in advancing the sacred interests of the Church, his mind appears often to be painfully oppressed, by the awful magnitude of the cause, and by the formidable opposition frequently arrayed against it. But no sooner does he begin to converse with his familiar companion, than he seems to cast away the burden of his discouragements. He *shakes himself from the dust,* and puts on *the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.* The clouds roll away from before him, and the sunshine breaks forth upon the prospect in a manner delightful and refreshing to every Christian heart.

At sea, in the Bay of Bengal, 200 miles from the Mouth of the Ganges, Nov. 23, 1816.

My dear Friend,

As on my arrival at Calcutta, after an absence of nearly twelve months, I cannot expect much

leisure, I will endeavour to have a letter ready for the first ship that may sail, leaving it open to announce, if Providence preserve us, that we are safe on shore. We left Bombay on the 17th of Sept. in the *Aurora*, on board which I am now writing. From the interest which you take in my welfare, and in what is of infinitely more importance, the welfare of the cause of religion, you would have been gratified, if you could have witnessed my departure from Bombay: every where, indeed, in the course of my visitation, I have met with great respect: but my long stay at Bombay brought the people more about me, and established between us a close connection. On the morning of my departure, the governor and council called on me at my house to bid me farewell, and the clergy and a great number of the principal inhabitants assembled at the pier, under an intensely hot sun, to wish me a good voyage. It seems that my residence there was very acceptable, and I hope it has done some good. The newspapers, in announcing my departure, have said all the good of me that they could imagine, and have represented me rather as what I wish to be, than what I am. From Bombay we proceeded to Goa, where the viceroy received me with great distinction, assigned me a guard of honour, and directed one of his principal officers to conduct me to Old Goa, and to shew me

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whatever I wished to see. The scenery about this once famed capital of Portuguese India is some of the finest I ever beheld, and the churches and convents are superb. Nothing, however, can compensate the want of good government, and industry, and knowledge; and with regard to these, Goa is a blank in the map. Old Goa once, it is said, had a population of 300,000 souls; but now not a human being but the monks and nuns. The spot is so unhealthy that it is dangerous for a stranger to sleep there a single night, and I did not observe any person who appeared to be older than myself. The libraries are very poor, and disappointed me exceedingly. The Inquisition is abolished, and the rooms are now converted into warehouses. From some cause or other I saw nothing of the archbishop, which I rather regretted, as he has the character of being a man of great worth and respectability.

At Cochin we staid ten days, to enable me to complete my researches among the Syrian Christians. People were much pleased with what Buchanan told of the Syrian Churches; but all, which he has told, amounts to very little compared with what was to be known of them. I had, indeed, advantages, such probably as no private individual could command: all sources of information were thrown open to me, and all facilities were provided. Since I have been in

India I have been placed in various situations, which were sufficiently singular: but what think you of an English bishop sitting at the head of a table in a small country-house belonging to a Hindoo Rajah, and examining a body of Syrian clergy upon points of faith [1]? Twelve clergymen and four of the best informed of the laity attended at a given hour, to answer such questions as I might put to them; and these I had already prepared and copied into a book, into which I took down their answers. For want of chairs, the whole party, excepting myself, were seated on mats spread upon the floor: it would have formed a fine subject for a painting. The white dresses of the clergy are very becoming, and most of them had intelligent countenances, full of thought, and marked with a strong feeling of the novelty and interest of the scene. It lasted for two hours and a half, after which I dismissed them, as many of them came from a distance; but I had several other interviews with smaller parties, and also with the metropolitan, whom I visited at his residence and staid with him for two hours. My visit, indeed, to the latter was quite an adventure: I had appointed

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[1] This has been mentioned before, nearly in the same words. But it is hoped that occasional repetitions of this nature will indulgently be excused. It has not been thought worth while to mutilate interesting letters for the purpose of avoiding them.

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twelve o'clock, but owing to a blunder, we passed the whole day in rowing up and down a lake to look for our interpreter, and the sun was nearly setting, when we had to quit the broad water to make our way up a narrow creek, four or five miles up which the metropolitan resides. The night was very dark, and the stream ran against us, narrow and shallow, and in many places overgrown with jungle: sometimes we stuck fast upon the ground, and sometimes in the trees. However, at eight o'clock at night we heard the distant sound of drums and pipes, and presently descried the bishop's residence, in a blaze of illumination, in honour of his long expected guest. After staying with him a short time I returned to my boat. By these means I possess a mass of curious particulars respecting as extraordinary a community as any perhaps in the world. If I can find leisure I shall put together something on the state of the Syrian Church; and with this view I have obtained a copy of their Liturgy in Syriac, and am hard at work upon it: but I know not what I shall do for Syriac types, which I shall want in a part of my version. I found but few books among them, (MSS.) but I have one, a folio volume of Hymns brought from Antioch, and a great curiosity. I sought in vain for one or two MSS., which probably they once possessed; but possibly I may obtain them from the ancient Mesopotamia,

where enquiry is making after them on my account. I wish very much to benefit these people, and I could not do it more effectually than by procuring one or two valuable Syriac works to be printed. On coming away I gave directions to have rice distributed among the inhabitants of the six or seven parishes which I visited; and for 25*l.* they were all, amounting to 4 or 5,000 people, to be maintained for a fortnight. Our voyage from Cochin was to Colombo in Ceylon; another spot of great interest in a Christian point of view; indeed more so, perhaps, than any thing on the continent of India. Christianity has there the countenance and encouragement of the government, and though its progress will not be rapid, it is, I think, certain. My stay there was for ten days, which were entirely occupied in receiving civilities, and giving audience to Christian teachers of almost every denomination, and to converts from all sorts of superstition. I visited the schools, as I have done every where; and I found time to write and to preach a sermon on Isaiah lxii. 1, with a particular application to Ceylon. The conduct of the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, is above all praise: he devotes himself entirely to the happiness and improvement of the people under his government. A succession of four or five such governors, which is hardly to be expected, would make Ceylon a happy island, and an honour to the British

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crown. At present I have no jurisdiction there; but a representation, I understand, will immediately be made to his Majesty's government, of the advantage which the island would derive from being subject in ecclesiastical matters to the Bishop of Calcutta. If this arrangement should take place, I shall stop at Colombo in my triennial visits to Bombay, and reside there two or three months in every third year. It is a delightful island; the climate is more moderate, and the manners of the people more English, than any place I have visited. Our ten days glided away amidst the attentions we received, and the interesting objects presented to our notice: and the governor and Lady Brownrigg evidently parted from us with reluctance. The governor and all his staff accompanied me to the place of embarkation, and once more we put to sea. We had Adam's Peak in view for three days, and nearly a week elapsed before we got fairly round into the Bay of Bengal. A few days, if it please Providence, will carry us to Calcutta, and thus, my friend, I shall have completed the most extensive visitation ever made by an English bishop. I trust that God has blessed it with some fruits: if I have not converted either Hindoos or Mahometans, I have countenanced and encouraged those, who are so employed; I have made the Church of England a little more visible; I have put the clergy upon the alert; I

have confirmed and delivered a suitable exhortation to about 1000 persons; I have preached almost every Sunday where I have found churches; and I have acquired a better knowledge of India with respect to religion, than I could have done at Calcutta in a whole life. In short, I am convinced that a bishop in this country must be a man who can endure the inconveniences and fatigue of travel; his presence is required every where; for wherever he goes, he may do some good. How long I may be able to continue these exertions, God only knows; but while I have the ability, they must be made; and when I am unfit for further service I shall probably be permitted to retire. The term of fifteen years, at my time of life, is out of the question. Farewell till I reach Calcutta, where I shall probably find a letter from you.

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Your affectionate friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

At the hazard of some little repetition, extracts are here given from another letter, written the day after his arrival at Calcutta, and while his mind was yet full of the interesting and important incidents of his recent visitation. It may not, perhaps, be without its use to witness the strength of Bishop Middleton's conviction, relative to certain points connected with the condition and the prospects of religion in India,

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and his extreme anxiety to communicate his own impressions on the subject, to able, intelligent, and zealous men in England.

TO T. P. COURTENAY, ESQ. M.P.

SECRETARY TO THE INDIA BOARD.

Calcutta, December 11, 1816.

My dear Sir,

Your very obliging letter of the 15th of May, waited my return to this place, where I arrived yesterday, after an absence of nearly twelve months. My last letter to you was dispatched from Bombay in September last . . . . . I thank you for the interest you so kindly take in the prosperity of our new ecclesiastical establishment, and in points where I am individually and personally concerned, though not, as I am convinced, independently of the cause to which I am pledged by my public duty. In truth, the question of religion in this country, is not generally understood at home. I have now had two years' experience in India, and have seen a considerable part of it, and have conversed with people of all the various nations and religions, of which its population is composed; and my decided opinion is, that very little of the jealousy, with which the natives are supposed to view Christianity and Christian institutions, has any real existence, and that an ecclesiastical establishment, conspicuous by the number of its clergy, and invested with all the dignity and

consideration which the Orientals invariably associate with the higher sacerdotal functions, so far from alarming them, and making them less governable, would impress them with deeper reverence for the British character; and, by inducing them to inquire into the grounds and evidences of our faith, would lead them, gradually, to adopt it, and give us a much stronger hold upon their affections than we have at present. A very different view was generally taken of the subject, at the time of my appointment, and probably it had its effect in the assignment of the bishop's rank, as well as of his income. With respect to the former, I shall adopt your advice, by patiently waiting for a revision of the patent, if that should ever take place; and as to the latter, I have written to your Board, some months since, requesting that a residence may be permanently assigned to the bishop, without which, I really do not see, considering the depreciation of money here, how any bishop, unless he be a man of private fortune, can ever maintain his station in this country. . . . . In the course of my visitation, I have seen a great deal which people in England would imagine to be very interesting; and which, perhaps, would repay the trouble of a shorter voyage than that to India. Nothing, however, has been more remarkable than my visit to the Syrian churches in Travancore, and to Ceylon.

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Of the actual state of the Syrians, I have collected much fuller details than have hitherto been made public, and they are, probably, the most extraordinary community now existing in the world. I had a ready access to them, and found them wholly unreserved upon the points upon which I wished to gain information.

My visit to Colombo was no less gratifying than that to the Syrians. Ceylon is making rapid strides to civilization and Christianity, and it has little to wish for but a succession of such governors as Sir Robert Brownrigg. I could scarcely name a man who is doing so much for the happiness of a whole people. He is expected to remain at Ceylon for about two years longer, and I shall feel great interest in the character of his successor, whoever he may be. I can hardly conceive a more important appointment. Application will, I believe, be made to his Majesty's government to place the island, in ecclesiastical matters, under my jurisdiction. The Christianity of Ceylon is certainly made up of very discordant materials. There are teachers there sent out by almost every sect; yet most of the converts there, with the exception of those of the Romish faith, would, I believe, very readily range themselves under the episcopal authority. *No government which has not some analogy to monarchy, is suited to the habits and the tempers of the people of this quarter of the globe.* In the course of my visita-

tion, I have visited all the schools which lay in my route, and I have confirmed about 1000 persons. I could have had one or two more confirmations, if I had not declined holding a confirmation wherever there was not a church.

I do not precisely recollect the passage of my letter to which you advert respecting the difficulties thrown in the way of the archdeacon of Madras. The case however was, that the government, or rather the governor, would not recognise him as having any thing to do in the concerns of the clergy. The correspondence was carried on through the senior chaplain, till I visited Madras; and, even then, I had great difficulty in prevailing upon the governor to promulgate the resolutions of the supreme government respecting the transfer of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the bishop and archdeacon. . . . . What I wish is (and it is absolutely necessary, if we are to have any thing like a Church in India,) that the clergy should be divested, as far as possible, of their military character, and be under the control neither of barrack-masters, nor military officers of higher rank, or any rank. . . . . It is exceedingly galling to a clergyman to be told by a commanding officer, that there shall, or shall not, be service on such a day, and that such and such portions of the Liturgy must be omitted; neither can such, or

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any interference, be compatible with the exercise of the bishop's authority.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

T. F. CALCUTTA.

Before concluding this chapter, it may be desirable to notice here a few circumstances which subsequently occurred, but which have immediate connection with the Bishop's visitation of this part of India.

In consequence of the petition which the Bishop forwarded to the Madras government from the remains of the Dutch congregation at Cochin, by the Bishop's desire, the Rev. Walter Williams was directed to reside there. So readily were his ministrations received by the Protestant inhabitants, that one of the Presbyterian churches was entirely given up to him; and a pulpit and reading desk were placed in the church by two Dutch gentlemen, M. Schuler and M. Crockenden at an expense of 1000 rupees. The Rajah of Cochin also liberally subscribed towards a free-school under Mr. Williams's charge for the benefit of the native population, and even placed under his superintendence a native poor-house, which his Highness had instituted, assigning Mr. Williams for such service a salary of 100 rupees per month. But these encouraging promises of usefulness were, unhappily, soon interrupted by the Madras government recalling their chaplain

for the more pressing service of the European military. Nor has any English clergyman been since stationed there by the government. CHAP. XII. 1816.

Mr. Williams, while resident at Cochin, willingly became the agent for distributing to the various Christian and Jewish congregations, copies of the Scriptures in Syriac, Hebrew, Portuguese, Dutch, and English. And not only was one copy of the Syriac Scriptures presented to each church, but most of the catanars partook of the same benefit. The college at Kotim received at this time a munificent donation of 20,000 rupees from the Rannee of Travancore, —the Rajah of Cochin gave 5000 rupees also for the maintenance of this establishment. The Syrian bishop, Mar Dionysius, died in December, 1816, about three months after Bishop Middleton's visit; and after a short interval the archdeacon, George, was consecrated by the remaining bishop, Mar Philoxenus, and assumed the name of his predecessor, Mar Dionysius.

At Bishop Middleton's request, archdeacon Barnes had made application to Mr. Rich, the resident at Bagdad, requesting to know if any Syriac or Chaldee manuscripts were procurable in that pashalick, or in Persia, which might assist the Bishop in his researches into the history of the Syriac Church. The reply of Mr. Rich is given in the following letter from him to the archdeacon.

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1816.

TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BARNES.

Bagdad, September 5, 1816.

SIR,

Your letter of the 25th of May did not reach me time enough for me to write by the *Aurora*, which delay I regret the more, as after all I am obliged to send you what I fear will be deemed a most unsatisfactory answer to your queries.

I despair of being able to procure any Syriac or Chaldee MSS. of value; it is only by some lucky accident, upon which it is impossible to reckon, that such things are to be met with; for the very few MSS. which now remain in the East are preserved with the most religious scrupulousness, as ecclesiastical property, by those who are totally ignorant of their literary value. This is the case, for instance, with the Patriarchal library, which though neglected and in the greatest confusion, the elders of the Church would not allow their chief to part with, were he so inclined. Of this library, the only valuable articles I saw, were two old copies of the Gospels. At Mousul, in the lumber-room of an old church, I found some ancient MSS. which had lain neglected for more than a century among dust and rubbish, yet it was impossible to procure any of them; nay, the priests even shewed a great dislike of letting any one into the room where they were kept, or rather

thrown by. In my own collection, which I have formed at different opportunities, (for I also am a collector) there is no Syriac or Chaldee MSS. of historical value. These circumstances are the less to be regretted, as Asseman contains all the materials that can possibly be required for the history of the Syrians, extracted from a collection of their own books, which is unrivalled in any part of the world. You are, of course, aware that the Christians, commonly called Syrians, are divided into two classes;—Monophysites, or Syrians properly so called, who are followers of Jacobus Baradæus, and, therefore, designate themselves as Jacobites; and those who early adopted the heresy of Nestorius, and are properly called Chaldeans. Of each of these sects, a portion has been converted to Catholicism, and, like the other Oriental Christians, are allowed the use of their own language. The Patriarch of the Jacobites, who still calls himself Patriarch of Antioch, is an acquaintance of mine, and resides near Mardin in this pashalick; he has a bishop in Malabar, who is probably the one you allude to. I had at one time projected a short history of both the Syrians and Chaldeans, considered both as different people and as religious sects, comprehending, of course, an account of their establishment in India, China, and Tartary. In

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this I should have availed myself of the rich stock of materials so industriously collected by Asseman, together with the results of my own inquiries. Circumstances suspended the execution of the plan; and with the variety of occupation of a very different nature which I have on my hands, it is impossible to say at what period I shall be able to resume it.

With respect to Armenian MSS. there are none procurable, at least in my quarter. During the whole period of my residence in the East, I have only been able to get one, and that is neither ancient nor valuable. There are libraries in the monasteries of Akhtamar on the Lake of Van, and Echmiazin, the seat of the *Catholicos*, which are not allowed to be dispersed. There is no reason to believe that they contain any thing of value.

I remain, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH.

It will be remembered, that whilst the Bishop was at Ceylon, he expressed himself much pleased at the exertions making for the promotion of Christianity. Among the measures to which he gave his assistance and encouragement then, was a proposal for translating the book of

Common Prayer into Cingalese, by Mr. Tolfrey, a civil servant at Colombo, who was distinguished as an eminent Cingalese and Pali scholar, and who had devoted much of his time, with great zeal and indefatigable application, to the translation of the New Testament into both those languages. The death of this amiable and truly pious man occurred within a few months after the Bishop left Colombo; and it is valuable to record here the expression of his lordship's feelings on the loss of such an able assistant in the Christian cause, as they occur in his own words, addressed in a letter to the Rev. George Bisset, secretary of the Colombo Bible Society.

TO THE REV. GEORGE BISSET.

Calcutta, February 11, 1817.

My dear Sir,

The Ceylon Gazette, received by me about a week ago, announced the unexpected death of Mr. W. Tolfrey; and the Gazette of the 11th ultimo, which has reached me this day, conveys the resolutions of his Excellency the Governor, and the other gentlemen, members of the committee—in whose service, in the translation of the Scriptures, the talents of Mr. Tolfrey have been so signally exerted,—to raise a monument to his memory in Colombo church.

The desire of being admitted to join in any

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testimony of respect to such a man, as was he who is the object of your regrets, must be natural to every one who is not wholly incapable of admiring true greatness and strength of character, and of revering the energies of a mind directed to their best employment,—the promoting of the glory of God.

Mr. Tolfrey, indeed, needs not any of the frail memorials in which his survivors can consecrate his name. He was one of the illustrious few who erect their own monuments; and the honours paid to such serve rather to satisfy the feelings of the living, to confirm them in the esteem of whatever is of good report, and to acquit themselves of a debt of gratitude, than to perpetuate the memory of the dead. But even this is not to be disregarded; and the obligation to offer the tribute is never so strong as when the memorial is least required.

I entreat you, then, to excuse the liberty which I take, in requesting permission to be a contributor to the proposed monument; to which honour, however, (for such I really consider it,) I have no other claim, than that which is founded in my deep respect for the virtues and powers of the late Mr. Tolfrey, and in the interest which my recent visit to your island impels me to take in any event which so nearly concerns it.

I venture to enclose a draft for 300 rix dollars, to be paid to your order at Point de Galle; and you will much oblige me, by the desired application of that sum. CHAP. XII. 1816.

I remain,

My dear Sir, with much esteem,

Your very faithful servant,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER XIII.

Occupation of the Bishop's time in Calcutta—Letter to Mr. Norris—To Mr. T. P. Courtenay—Proposed Grammar-school Vidyalaya or Hindoo College—Proposals for extension of Missionary establishments—Letter to Mr. Thomas Courtenay on the connection of Ceylon to the bishopric of Calcutta.

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THE labours and fatigues of the visitation being now concluded, the Bishop resumed the stationary duties of his diocese; and those duties were such as to require the most careful distribution of his time. Like all other European residents in India, he rose before the sun, and sometimes took the exercise of riding on horseback; but not always (he says), for it generally left him languid during the rest of the day. His mornings were usually occupied in receiving the clergy and others on business, in correspondence with his archdeacons and other clergy, with the local governments, or with the authorities in England; and such portions of his time as could well be spared, from such matters, he chiefly devoted to the composition of sermons, for the pulpit of his cathedral, which he occupied frequently, about once in a fortnight, or three weeks

at farthest. Nor must we omit, in thus enumerating the various occupations of the Bishop's time, the demands upon his attention which the common civilities of life occasioned; and on which, in Calcutta particularly, he felt that his influence and usefulness greatly depended. In the midst of these engagements, his thoughts were perpetually wandering towards England. Left as he was to his own energies and resources —destitute of legal advice on points of ecclesiastical law—with little aid from the counsels of those about him—and entrusted with the execution of duties, the novelty of which in India, surrounded him with jealous inspection,—it is not wonderful that he should seek support in frequent intercourse with kindred minds in his own country. To them he poured out his anxieties and his doubts. To them he delineated, faithfully and minutely, the nature of his position, with its pecularities and difficulties. In circuitous and tardy consultation with them, he was compelled to seek that confirmation of his own views and purposes which, in England, he would have derived from personal and animating conference. Even at this early period of his residence, a tone of misgiving and even of dejection, is occasionally discernible in his correspondence—a dejection, however, which may, doubtless be in some degree attributed to the enervating influence of the climate on his constitution;

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for he appears, even then, to have been conscious that his lamp of life was burning rapidly and prodigally. So much was this the case at times, that we find him assailed with fears, that no human vigour or perseverance, could be equal to a conflict with the multiplied obstructions which confronted him; and that he might be compared to one

> ——— Who swims with fins of lead,
> And hews down oaks with rushes.

These apprehensions, however, though they might occasionally deject his spirits, never could relax or enfeeble his exertions. He sought a retreat from them in the discharge of his solemn obligations, and in meditation on the brighter days which might yet be in store for the Anglo-Indian Church. It must be almost needless to add, that his spirit was in daily communion with the source of all holiness and strength, and that his thoughts were habitually fixed on Him to whose glory his whole faculties were dedicated. One of the apartments of his residence was fitted up for the purposes of a chapel, where service was regularly performed, and to which such visitors as came to breakfast with him were invited to attend. A part of the daily devotions consisted of a prayer [1] drawn up by himself, with

[1] "Almighty Father, whose Providence hath conducted us to these distant shores, we implore thee to prosper all our

especial reference to the duties and dangers incident to a residence in India. CHAP. XIII. 1816.

Respecting his occupations and prospects at this time it will be interesting to hear him speak for himself, and with this view the following

undertakings, which have for their object the welfare of our brethren, and the glory of thy holy name. Thou hast brought us to a land, where all who are sincerely devoted to thy service, may find occasions of doing good, and where the single talent may be usefully employed. Grant, O Lord, that whatever our hand findeth to do, we may do it with all our might. Save us from the effects of indolence and indifference: awaken our zeal, quicken our exertions, and enable us to persevere steadily and consistently in those endeavours which thy Holy Spirit may suggest to us. We beseech thee also, to vouchsafe us such a portion of health as may be necessary to the discharge of our active duties, without suffering us to forget our dependence upon thee; or, if it should please thy Providence to afflict us, teach us to bear our sickness patiently, and turn it to our spiritual improvement. And while we implore thy mercy on ourselves, we commend to thy especial protection our relatives, and all who are dear to us, in our native land. Bless them, O Lord, and let them remember us in their prayers. And to as many of us as thy Providence shall permit to return to our country, grant that we may find those who shall remain to us, increased in every spiritual grace, and advancing in the way of holiness; that so we may employ whatever further portion of life thy wisdom may assign us in the endearing charities of kindred and holy friendship; and exhorting one another to good works, as the day approacheth, we may all pass to that better country, which thou hast promised to those that love thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

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passages have been selected from his correspondence.

Extract of a Letter to the Rev. H. H. Norris.

Calcutta, January 4, 1817.

. . . . . My library almost every morning exhibits a sort of levee, a succession of visitors who hardly leave me time to get through my necessary business, which, in a country where every thing is done by writing, and every thing is anomalous, is not a little. This morning's work (now a quarter past one), has been writing thus far. Among other visitors, I have had a person just arrived from Bagdad, who brings me an overture from an Arabian convert to Christianity; and a Persian letter, in which he furnishes me with an argument against the Koran. That any arguments should be wanting against that which has no evidence to support it! but so it is. I believe, however, that the mind is at work in various parts of this Eastern world; and a bishop who could afford to stand forward as the patron of converts whose sincerity was approved,—who could bear the expense of printing occasionally,—and, in short, who could do what every body but our own people expects from him,—might, I am convinced, be a principal instrument in the hands of Providence in promoting a work which sooner or later will be accomplished, and wants nothing so much

as countenance and help. In the present instance, the man wishes me to invite him to Bengal, that he may openly profess Christianity, having already been baptized by a Romish priest, and obtain a subsistence equal to that which he relinquishes. All this is very plausible, but it is impossible, without a great deal of proof, to trust any native of the East; so that I have declined inviting him to Bengal, but have told him that if he should come on any other grounds, he may call upon me. CHAP. XIII. 1817.

Your long and most interesting letter of the 13th of March last, reached me on the 1st of September, having been sent across to Bombay. I assure you I have not received any thing more welcome from any quarter since I came to India. I have acknowledged the receipt of it in a letter to Mr. Joshua Watson, in which I have given him a long detail of my long visitation. I hope you will all give me credit for such an enterprise: an episcopal visitation in India is no trifle; however, I thank God, Mrs. Middleton and myself have been preserved from fevers on land, and from rocks and gales at sea, and are both returned in good health. I preached on Christmas-day, at my little cathedral, to 914 persons, of whom 180 received the sacrament at my hands: there were 300 more when I first preached, but then the other church was shut up during a repair: and I preached again on New-year's day to

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a congregation which would have been very large, but that a lady of fashion (for we have fashion in India,) had on the preceding evening given a grand ball, which kept people up till five in the morning. Upon the latter occasion I preached a sort of *Irenicon* upon Gal. vi. 15, in which I disclaimed, not, I hope, the doctrine of our Church upon regeneration, but those mischievous and absurd inferences which are supposed to be deducible from it; as, that baptism is sufficient to salvation, and is a remission of all sins which men afterwards commit; that the "opus operatum" is every thing, &c. &c. &c.; and I have every reason to believe that to some of my hearers (who have been exceedingly scandalized at the inferences contained in the commentaries upon Dr. Mant's Tracts,) it has given great satisfaction; for the consequences of all your controversies in England reach India, and, I am sorry to say, are doing us harm; and nothing is wanting to complete the mischief, but an unconciliating spirit on the part of the Bishop. Whatever little I may have hitherto been able to accomplish has been done by my readiness to hear what every body has to say, and by smoothing asperities. A different course would in an instant undo every thing. It must be remembered that the *religious mind* of the country, if I may use the expression, had been pre-occupied in great measure before I came; and that the

Scotch Church will divide the portion which had hitherto been with the Church of England. These circumstances make it impossible that I should here take any direct and active part in some points, on which in England you are accustomed to express very strong opinions. To popularity I have made no sacrifices, or I might have had it in a degree, perhaps, which few men attain. I might have had my name rung throughout England, and perhaps elsewhere. But I have firmly resisted overtures of that sort, very much to the astonishment of some, who do not enter into controversy, and who, I am afraid, give me credit in consequence for less zeal than I hope I possess. CHAP. XIII. 1817.

I think it is gradually beginning to be felt that the mere distributions of Bibles will produce very little effect in promoting Christianity among the natives. When I was at Bombay, a Parsee, *i. e.* one of the adherents to the religion of Zoroaster, told a clergyman, that he supposed, as the Bishop was come, they must all think of turning Christians, but he hoped the Bishop would not give them great books, but little ones to begin with, "as they could not understand a great deal at once." The remark, no doubt, is true generally; and, with few exceptions, little good will be done, except by schools and tracts; of which last, however, very few as yet in existence are suited to the state of India.

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I will not lose sight of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. I wish that I could work twelve hours in the twenty-four, but in this climate it is impossible, or I could employ them well. I really feel myself responsible for every idle moment.

Extract of a Letter to the Rev. H. H. Norris.

Calcutta, January 25, 1817.

. . . . . The Christians of this place will have abundant choice of doctrines, quite enough to bewilder common understandings . . . . . there is, however, no diminution of attendance at the cathedral, but very much the contrary, and it is a subject of common remark. I preach very frequently, about once in a fortnight or three weeks at the farthest; and, generally, nearly an hour at a time: and in Lent, archdeacon Loring, by my appointment, will deliver a catechetical lecture every Friday evening. And after Easter I mean, if I preserve my health, to resume my lectures on the Litany on the alternate Sunday evenings, and continue them about six months. This will be *some* employment in an intensely hot and exhausting climate; but it is only a small part of what I have to engage my time. A large correspondence with the clergy in all parts of India, or with the archdeacons, upon clerical matters, visits almost every morning from either the gentlemen

of the place, or natives, to whom I always listen with the greatest patience, schools, the diocesan committee, and projects for the public good; such are the occupations which leave me little time for reading, and hardly any for, what is most important to my comfort, my correspondence with my friends in England. At present I am busy in framing a plan for a grammar-school; and, if I can manage it, it will be a blessing to India. The half-castes here are becoming opulent, and wish to give their children a liberal education, and some of them have been with me to know what is to be done. I hope the result will be that classical knowledge will be attainable in this country, and that an important class of its population will be brought up in the principles of the Church of England, instead of being left, as at present, without any thing deserving the name of education, or any fixed principles of religion.

The annexed fragment of a letter to Mr. Ward speaks briefly, indeed, but with pleasing animation, of his various engagements, and of his hopes of eventual good.

Calcutta, January 25, 1817.

My dear Friend,

I wrote to you about six weeks since, announcing my safe return to Calcutta, after my

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long visitation, of which, also, I gave you a pretty full account; and I will, therefore, be more brief on the present occasion. My time, indeed, is constantly occupied. What with preaching, attending meetings of benevolent institutions, carrying on correspondence with the clergy all over India, receiving visits almost every morning from gentlemen of the place, or strangers just arrived, or natives who wish to know what Christianity really is, or with projects and schemes of improvement,—I seldom find that I have a moment to spare; the hours glide rapidly away. In this country I am often placed in situations, which to you at home may seem romantic: a few days ago I had a message and a letter from a man at Bagdad, a baptized convert from Islamism, who wishes me to send for him to Calcutta: since that I have had a message from one of the richest men at Benares, a Hindoo, requesting leave to write to me upon the subject of the Christian religion: and a few days hence I am to see a man lately arrived from Balkh in Tartary, a place less known than any other in these Eastern regions: but his visit has nothing to do with Christianity: he is a steady Mussulman, and is come to teach Persian at a new institution here for the instruction of Hindoos, from which, ultimately, I augur much good. The horror at Christianity is certainly beginning to subside: and the elements of European know-

ledge are growing into great request. Our own character is gaining ground, and our attention to religion is increasing: Providence, I doubt not, in due time, will bring all these things to a favourable issue. CHAP. XIII. 1817.

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

To these extracts, it would be culpable to forbear adding a considerable portion of a letter addressed to Mr. Norris shortly afterwards, as it carries on the history of the Bishop's projects and exertions; and, more particularly, as it contains the first mention of a mission college. The germ of this design, it will be observed, was a mere suggestion of the venerable missionary Mr. Kolhoff; and it is adverted to here by the Bishop as an undertaking infinitely desirable, indeed, but too expensive to be practicable! Little did he think at that time that he should be the honoured instrument of rearing such an institution, and live to see the Principal of his college arrive in India!

TO THE REV. H. H. NORRIS.

Calcutta, April 21, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR,

Having got away for a few days from the business and bustle of Calcutta to rusticate with Lord Moira at the Windsor or Hampton Court

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of India, I indulge myself with sitting down to acknowledge your letter of the 17th of July, received only two days since. I need hardly tell you, having told you so often, how much your correspondence interests and delights me. I had previously heard of Dr. Marsh's[1] advancement, and sent my congratulation to him some time ago: it is a good omen, and seems in a great measure to remove my bodings from a great many bad ones, though I hardly see how great mischiefs are to be averted. A *little* agitation, as you observe is good for us, as it keeps us from stagnation; but there is more than a rippling on the surface of the waters, and I dread a storm. . . . Last night I resumed my lectures on the Litany, which I purpose, if my health will permit, to continue on the alternate Sunday evenings for the next six or seven months, besides, perhaps, two or three occasional sermons; and then Advent, Christmas, &c., will be at hand, and then come several of my turns. I have given the bishop seven in the year, and the archdeacon the same number. During last Lent, I set my archdeacon to preach a catechetical lecture on every Friday evening, which was pretty well attended; and every Wednesday morning I assembled the children of the boarding-schools,

[1] The present Bishop of Peterborough, then promoted to the see of Llandaff.

&c. between two and three hundred, and had them catechised by the chaplains, except on the Wednesday in Passion-Week, when I catechised the best proficients myself, and examined them in bishop Mann's Exposition; and afterwards delivered an address to them from my chair. I am now printing it, and mean to call at the several schools, and distribute it myself. Some people might think all this very trifling; and certainly it could be done quite as well by a chaplain; but then the inference would be all against the bishop. . . . . I am particularly anxious about the fate of the Danish mission: you will perhaps be surprised to hear that it is actually on my hands! The missionaries wrote to me about two months since, stating that their resources were reduced lower than ever, that they received nothing from Europe, and that they must break up their establishment, unless I could devise the means of saving them. I immediately drew up a statement of their case, and circulated it among a few of the principal people at Calcutta; and I think that, with what I have raised and may raise elsewhere, I may be able to support the mission for a twelvemonth, but not more. I have advanced nothing from the credit of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge beyond the 200*l.* mentioned in my letter from Tranquebar; though in case of extreme necessity I may, perhaps, give something more. Now

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what I want is, to impress you and my other friends at Bartlett's Buildings, with the vast importance, if possible, of becoming patrons and and proprietors of the oldest Protestant mission in India. I do not apprehend that the mission will altogether perish: if *we* do not take it, it will be transferred to some other society. But it would be a creditable and popular thing for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to consolidate the two missions, and thus place herself at the head of all the Protestant native Christianity in the south of India. There would be but little difficulty in bringing the Christians, in such hands, into communion with the Church of England. The Society, I fear, is not rich enough for such an undertaking; but in an age when missions are so readily supported, do not you think that an appeal might be made to the public with good success? Turn over the matter with our friends: the object is a *very important one,* and to assist it, I will write a letter to Dr. Gaskin, of which the Society may make any use it thinks proper. But whatever is done, must be done *soon.* I cannot hold out above another year, at present I have not enough for more than six months; but I will leave no stone unturned to save the mission, and to facilitate the junction. I believe, I never mentioned to you that, when I was at Tanjore, Mr. Kolhoff (whom, by the way, as well as Mr.

Pohlé, I wish the Society in all their communications to mention with respect, for they are excellent men); I never mentioned that Mr. Kolhoff wished me to devise the means of educating the children of our missionaries themselves *in a sort of missionary college in India.* The advantages to the cause of Christianity are evident; especially as Mr. Kolhoff assured me that they might all of them, without any objection, be brought up in the principles of our Church, and be regularly ordained by the bishop of Calcutta. It so happens that Mr. Pohlé, though very old, has a young family, and Mr. Kolhoff a still younger, and that Mrs. Horst, widow of the missionary, has a son of about nine or ten years of age. Mr. Kolhoff assured me that all of these would be glad to receive such an education for such purposes, and thus you would very soon transfer all the native Christians of the south, into the bosom of the Church. A missionary college is evidently too expensive a plan, or else it would be excellent: two or three of these have been the seminaries from which the Portuguese have diffused their religion into every corner of the country. But I thought the other day that I had hit on an expedient: the opulent half-castes at Calcutta, some of them very rich, have been much about me lately to assist them in founding a grammar-school, such as we have

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in the provincial towns in England, the bishop for the time being to be visitor and patron. The thing seems to hitch a little, though I have drawn a sketch of the statutes, &c. and have obtained the consent of Lord Moira to the plan. The fact is, that to have academical and able masters from England, which is wished, and is indispensable, it will require funds: however, I do not mean to let the scheme drop, and I still hope it will go on. In that case, I think, that by contributing something on the part of the Society, I can reserve in the plan two or three *free* scholarships, to be given always in preference to the sons of our missionaries, if such apply. You would then have a constant succession of missionaries without sending to Halle; and, generally speaking, much better for your purpose, as being better acquainted with the habits of the natives, and inured to the climate. I am very anxious about the grammar-school, if I can bring it to bear, even independent of the missionary appendage; it will be the greatest machine in diffusing religion and all good principles which was ever set at work in India.

. . . . . You suppose me capable of much greater things than I am able to accomplish, standing alone as I do, and having to find my way through brushwood and jungle, where bishop never trod before; however, you cannot over-

rate my affection and veneration for the Church and the institutions of my native land; the feeling is, if possible, increased by distance; and I hope I may be forgiven the daily prayer that, after labouring in the service of that Church, as long as God shall grant me strength equal to the task, I may be permitted once more to embrace you all, and to die in her bosom.

. . . . . Having written this letter I shall indulge myself with Syriac for an hour, and then dress for dinner at four; and then I suppose we shall all mount our elephants, and ride round the park till it is dusk.

. . . . . I received Dr. Van Mildert's[1] letter of last autumn, and have answered it by a ship which sailed about six weeks ago. I also wrote before that to the Archbishop of Canterbury about missions from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. *The Church must send out missionaries, or it will not hereafter be found among the Churches of Asia.*"

A letter addressed to Mr. Courtenay by the Bishop, shortly after the above, dated Calcutta, Feb. 10, 1817, adverts still more fully to the project of a grammar-school; and contains, moreover, an interesting account of the college recently established by respectable Hindoos for the education of their sons.

[1] The present Bishop of Durham.

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"From the interest which you kindly take in the proceedings connected with my episcopate, I will inform you, that I am at present engaged in a scheme which, if it can be brought to bear, will, I trust, be productive of great good to India. The half-castes, or (as they would rather be called,) the *country born*, are, in many parts of India, and especially in this presidency, rising to wealth and importance; and they are desirous of giving their children as good an education as they can afford to pay for. *The time is approaching when something must be done for this class of persons.* Among them are many of the principal tradesmen of Calcutta; and, if they are not liberally educated, and thus connected with us by congenial sentiment, we may, in time, discover that we have lost all hold on their affections. They are a warm and irritable race; and from the state of society among us, into which they are rarely admitted, it is natural that they should be actuated by a common feeling. Some of the most considerable of them have applied to me to assist them in founding a *grammar-school*, to find proper masters for it in England, *clergymen of the Established Church*, and to be a patron of the future institution. The question will turn, I apprehend, principally upon the funds, which, for such a purpose must be considerable. But they speak confidently of their resources; relying, however, upon some assistance from the

annual lac of rupees voted by the charter. When I have digested the regulations, I shall submit them to Lord Moira, who appears, upon a verbal statement of mine, to be very friendly to the measure; and also forward a copy of them to your board. If it can happily be accomplished, we shall see liberal knowledge, and truly Christian principles, imparted to a numerous race of men who, at present, are without the means of obtaining either, and thus be laying the foundation of lasting attachment to us in church and state. CHAP. XIII. 1817.

"It is, indeed, highly necessary that I should exert myself, to the full extent of my very limited means, to counteract or to avert the mischief, which may be apprehended at some distant period, from the method in which we are disseminating knowledge in this country. I am as warm a friend to the propagation of Christianity as any man; and I am convinced that the minds of the people (who, whatever may be said of the attainments of a few of their learned men some centuries ago, are in a state of abject ignorance and even childishness,) must be enlightened. *The best employment of the missionary is in teaching children; and we can hardly teach them any thing which will not bring them a step nearer to Christianity.* But who are the teachers sent out to us? They are of almost every description; while those of the Church of England are an

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inconsiderable minority. The most prominent are the Baptists; and, next to them, the Independents. The Baptists have been settled in this country about eighteen years. Their labours have been various and immense; though it is now beginning to be understood that they have attempted more than it has been possible to execute well. However, their exertions are unremitted . . . . . I send you a plan which they have just published for the education of the natives. It certainly conveys a very just notion of the moral depravity of the Hindoos; and it contains many excellent hints; though part of it is borrowed from a plan which an Independent here has been acting upon for some years past, for conveying those elements of knowledge which must precede the direct inculcation of Christianity." Speaking afterwards of the prospects of Christianity in India, he adds,—" I am aware that Christianity has vast difficulties to overcome. But I am also convinced that the prospect within these very few years is considerably improved. The natives, especially those of the higher class, who have much intercourse with the English, begin to feel the weakness and deficiency of their own systems, and evince a strong desire of knowledge; and I am called upon, sometimes, to explain to Hindoos, at their own request, the evidences of Christianity. They do not, indeed, say much. But their minds are

evidently at work; *and they certainly display no bigotry, and betray no alarm with regard to the diffusion of our religion.* The wealthy Hindoos have just set on foot a school, or college, without any aid or countenance from the government, who (very wisely, I think,) have wished the work to be done by themselves. I inclose a copy of the regulations. The superintendant is a military officer, and the only Englishman connected with the establishment. Without such assistance nothing could be done. As no grammars, or other school book, could be found, into which the subject of religion did not enter, the superintendant was obliged to adopt the books used in English schools. But to avoid all appearance of seeking to make converts, he tore out, or pasted over, the passages which related to Christianity. This was observed by the managers, who are all Hindoos of wealth and consequence; when one of them wrote to the superintendant a note, of which I send you a copy, evincing the feelings of this class of people respecting us. On the same occasion, two of the managers declared that they had read the Bible, and had found nothing in it which could do their children harm."

The *note* which the Bishop here mentions is as follows:—"I have looked over the accompanying two books, and found nothing to be struck out; but felt very much for the passages pasted

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over, and consequently beg of you not to spoil any other books in a similar way; as the boys, whose parents are averse to allow them to read whatever alludes to the Christian religion, may leave out the same.

(Signed,) RADHAHANT DEB."

To F. IRVINE, Esq.
Jan. 17, 1817.

The primary object of the Vidyalaya, or Hindoo College, here alluded to, was (in the language of its own regulations,) "the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia." The very establishment of such a seminary, especially when combined with the above indications of a frank and unsuspicious temper on the part of its promoters, afford an ample confirmation to the repeated statements of Bishop Middleton. It shews, at least, that the natives of Hindostan have no incorrigible abhorrence of truth; and affords a good hope that science in that country may eventually become the pioneer of Christianity. With regard to the grammar-school for the education of the country-born youth, it appears that the design of the Bishop made but little progress for several years. It was, however, carried into effect soon after his death by the zeal, firmness, and discretion of Mr. Haw-

tayne. The direction of the establishment was then virtually consigned to him. He took upon himself the department of religious instruction, and, under the title of its chaplain, afforded it the blessing of religious ministrations. He solicited and obtained for it the favour and support of the Governor-general, to whom he submitted a regular "Plan for a Calcutta Grammar-School," to consist of thirty foundation boys, and as many more as could be had. Its two masters were to be from Oxford or Cambridge, with the degree of M.A., and both clergymen,—the Bishop to be visitor,—the Governor to appoint half the trustees, the subscribers the other half,—the studies to be those of grammar-schools in England,—six scholarships to be founded in Bishop's College, if permitted; the boys to be elected off from such as should be disposed to become missionaries. And he had the satisfaction of finding that the Indo-British committee of management were abundantly grateful to him for his exertions.

Very soon after this, the Bishop had again occasion to address Mr. Courtenay, in consequence of information which had reached him, of a recommendation, on the part of the governor of Ceylon, that the island should be placed under his episcopal care. His letter will best explain the feelings with which he received this intelligence.

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Calcutta, February 22, 1817.

My dear Sir,

. . . . . Since I wrote my last to you, I have received from the governor of Ceylon, a copy of his Excellency's dispatch to Earl Bathurst, recommending that the island of Ceylon should be placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta; the proposed plan is, that the bishop should pass a short time there triennially in his way to Bombay, to ordain, confirm, visit the schools, &c.; and, that he should be assisted by an archdeacon, constantly resident in the island. I thought it advisable upon the receipt of this intelligence (though I knew that such a scheme was in contemplation), to write to Earl Bathurst, assuring his lordship of my readiness, under any arrangement, to receive the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent; and engaging, to the best of my ability, to realize the advantages expected. Much good may unquestionably be done in Ceylon, even though the bishop should stay there but a very short time, and never visit any place but Colombo: and certainly, as the dispatch states, it would require but little to indemnify him for this delay and expense. In Ceylon, however, a great deal more than this may be done if the bishop have sufficient means; *probably, indeed, there is no part*

of the world, where liberality could be turned to so good account. It is said, that the Christians in the island are not fewer than 200,000, of whom a considerable majority are Protestants; and many of those who are nominally of the Church of Rome, might easily be gained over by attention and encouragement. But, independently of this, it would tend exceedingly to recommend the religion of the Church of England, if the bishop were seen to be the patron of schools, a contributor to the building of churches, and a friend to individual distress. Such a course of proceeding could no where be ineffectual; but it is especially important in these countries, where our institutions are but yet in their infancy, and where religion and munificence are closely associated in the minds of the people.

I have ventured to offer some suggestions of this nature to Lord Bathurst, intimating that for these last-mentioned purposes, the income assigned to the Bishop of Calcutta is altogether inadequate, and but barely sufficient, for such demands, within the present limits of his diocese: at the same time, assuring his lordship, that if, under any arrangement, the proposed measure should be adopted by his majesty's government, whatever be the means afforded me, I will endeavour to apply them accordingly; and that I would even make some sacrifices, if circumstances should require it, where there is so

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much ground to hope that they would be abundantly repaid. In truth, I am disposed to consider as belonging to Ceylon whatever may arise from my possible connection with it, and whether it be 500*l.* per annum or 1,500*l.*, to apply it for the benefit of the island, as far as it will go.

The present governor, Sir Thomas Brownrigg, will be a public loss, whenever he shall relinquish the government, which will be, I understand, within a short period, though I anxiously hope, that in the appointment of his successor, regard will be paid to the selection of a person, who will tread in Sir Robert Brownrigg's steps. He supports schools, builds churches, encourages morals and industry, and, in short, promotes in every way the comfort and happiness of the people. I passed ten days at Colombo very pleasantly; and the governor has been pleased to represent to the government at home, that my visit was of use: however, I could appear there only as a private individual, and I shall greatly rejoice if, on my next visit, I should be authorised to take a more active part.

I am, my dear Sir, &c. &c.

T. F. CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER XIV.

Activity of Missionaries among the Christians of His Majesty's troops—Extracts from the Bishop's correspondence on the propriety of licensing Missionaries for English service—Rescinding, by the Court of Directors, of the government regulation respecting the location of chaplains—Letter to Mr. T. Courtenay—The Bishop's opinion on the subjection of chaplains to military control—The Court's refusal of a house for the Bishop—Proposal of the Bishop to be empowered to ordain natives—Rammohun Roy—Arrival of Rev. J. Hawtayne as Bishop's chaplain.

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It has repeatedly been intimated that, from the earliest period of his residence in India, the hopes of Dr. Middleton were directed, in the first instance, rather towards the *reform* of the European, than the *conversion* of the native population. With him the more immediate object was to preserve and invigorate Christianity, among professed Christians themselves. The neglect of this he was deeply persuaded might entail defeat and disappointment on all other designs. Every day of his residence added strength to this conviction; and it is somewhat curious, that his views on this subject seemed to derive confirmation from the practice of those

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who came out to India purely and solely for the prosecution of missionary labours. In his correspondence, about this period[1], it is observed by him, that urgent, pathetic, and most successful appeals were constantly made to the Christian feelings and principles of Englishmen at home, in behalf of various societies *for the conversion of the Heathen;* but that when the ministers sent out for this purpose arrived in India, they often appeared to be seized with the persuasion, that comparatively little was to be done among the idolaters, but that much might be effected among the ignorant and careless multitudes from Christendom. The Baptists, for instance, (he says) seem to have abandoned all conversion but that of Europeans; but then they boast of their success among his majesty's European troops: and their attention is now turned to native schools, in which they are very generally patronised. "A church missionary here," he adds, "has advertised for a congregation at Garden Reach, within four miles of Calcutta, recommending himself by his being 'regularly' ordained in the Church of England;' though he has no license, and is actually under no bishop. And an Independent missionary, who has no orders of any kind, has settled himself in

[1] With archdeacon Barnes, 21st June, 1817; and with Mr. Norris, 31st March, 1818.

Calcutta, and entered into a sort of partnership with the Scotch minister, who lends him his place of worship every Sunday and Wednesday evenings[1], on which I deliver my lectures; and no enquiry is made about his credentials." All, in short, seemed to be more or less under the impression that the peculiar line of exertion for which they had been dispatched from England, must, after all, give way to the more urgent business of converting Europeans from nominal to sincere and vital Christianity. CHAP. XIV. 1817.

By this course of proceeding, it is true, the missionaries furnished a striking support to the convictions of the Bishop. But their undesigned assistance to his hypothesis, was but an imperfect compensation for the manifold perplexities which their practice, *combined with the very inadequate supply of chaplains*, threatened to introduce into his diocese. That, in his opinion, difficulty and confusion were to be apprehended, appears from a letter addressed, by him, in September, 1817, to Mr. Courtenay, secretary of the India Board, relative to the question of the Bishop's jurisdiction over missionaries thus circumstanced. This question he conceived to be becoming daily more important. Many more

[1] The performance of divine service here was advertised to be "by divine permission, and the kind consent of Dr. Bryce." —Calcutta Daily Advertiser, April 26, 1817.

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such missionaries were to be expected from England; and if they were not to be recognised by the Bishop, there would be *two Churches of England* in the country, the consequences of which were exceedingly to be deprecated. The difficulty continued to press upon him during his whole life in India; and in order that the extent of it, as contemplated by him, may be fully understood, and placed in one view before the reader, it will be advisable to introduce here one or two passages from his *subsequent* correspondence. The subject will thus be more completely illustrated, and the narrative relieved from the interruption of a frequent recurrence to the same topic.

A copious exposition of the perplexity in which this matter involved him may be found in a letter which he addressed to Mr. Norris, on the 20th September, 1820, and in which he writes as follows:—

"Even here, at Calcutta, I am not without subjects of concern. I wrote home, and to the government here, about two years ago, for more chaplains. None have yet *arrived;* but several are *going home* on furlough, as it is called. They have this privilege (which the Bishop has not) of going home to see their friends at the end of seven years. To maintain Christianity and Christian ordinances among Christians in the territories subject to this presidency, we

ought to have from twenty-five to thirty chaplains; but, after January next, I question whether *twelve* will remain. But the missionaries in orders, of the Church Missionary Society, are coming out continually; three arrived very lately, and they will become, in a few years, the parochial clergy. In one place the Society have lately built a neat church, and appointed their minister; and what can be said against it? Upwards of 200 Christians were without a pastor. If the state will not provide for such cases, it will never do to say that such persons shall not receive instruction from ordained clergymen of our own Church, by whomever sent. Other cases of the same sort may be expected every day; and if the Church Missionary Society will supply ordained clergymen wherever they are wanted, the Company may be relieved, indeed, from a heavy expense; but then what becomes of the Bishop's jurisdiction? Not one of these missionaries are licensed by me, or known otherwise than as a person sent out *to convert the Heathen:* and yet the conversion of the Heathen is, with missionaries of almost all classes, but a secondary concern; it is laborious, and obscure, and hopeless work, compared with preaching in English among Europeans. In this way, in a few years, there will be a bishop in India, with hardly any clergy; and a numerous clergy not acknowledging episcopal jurisdiction. It may be said,

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indeed, why not use your right of insisting that these men shall be *licensed* or *silenced?* If I license them to preach in English, that were at once to acknowledge these men as performing the duties of parochial clergy, and that the Company need not send chaplains to India: and if I should forbid them to preach in English, while so many European congregations are without any pastor, it would excite horror and hatred both of my person and my office. In fact, it could not be done *salvâ conscientiâ*; and if it could, the same power could not operate against the Baptists, Independents, &c. They would thus have the exclusive teaching of all the Europeans for whom chaplains are not provided by the Company. I know not whether these questions appear to you to involve much difficulty. But these, and many others of the same sort, I wish I could discuss in England, with the view of seeking some remedy." One cause of hesitation, also, in extending the episcopal license to those missionaries, was the difficulty of settling the precise form in which such a license should be framed. The ministrations of missionary clergy were not confined by their Society to any single Christian congregation; and it did not seem desirable to give a license to preach indiscriminately throughout the Indian diocese. The subject is briefly reverted to in a letter from Calcutta, dated March 8, 1821.

"As to my recognising their missionaries, (those of the Church Missionary Society,) what can I do? They will soon have in India a body of ordained clergy nearly half as numerous as the Company's chaplains; *and I must either licence them, or silence them,—there is no alternative.* But how can I silence men who come to India under the authority of a clause in the charter? It may be said that under that clause they should confine themselves to the instruction of natives, and not preach in English. *But they preach where there are no chaplains,* and without their ministrations considerable bodies of Christians would be without the ordinances of religion. They are, in fact, doing what our Propagation of the Gospel Society's missionaries were sent to do in America. And what would be the effect, if the Bishop were to interfere to deprive any Christian congregation of the means of attending the services of the Church? Explanation would be impossible. It would be generally believed that I was adverse to the progress of Christianity, whatever might be my professions."

It will appear in the sequel, that the Bishop was probably induced to abstain from interference with their ministrations, in the hope that an adequate supply of chaplains would, in time, relieve him from difficulty. In this hope, however, he was disappointed; and it will be found that, towards the close of his life, his conviction of the

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necessity of extending the episcopal license to this class of ministers, for English service, became daily more urgent. He seemed to think that the time was close at hand, when it would be impossible longer to withhold his public sanction from services, which came so powerfully in aid of the exigencies of the Church.

It is possible that his mind was rendered even more than usually sensitive under these embarrassments, by the pressure of disappointments from various other quarters. We have seen that the local government of India had transferred to the Bishop the right of originating the nomination of chaplains to particular stations. This arrangement, however, had scarcely a longer duration than the period necessary for carrying the intelligence of it to England, and for bringing back its repeal; for about this time a dispatch arrived at Calcutta, conveying the resolution of the Honourable Court, that this right should not rest with the bishop, but should revert to the several governments of India. It was admitted in this dispatch, that the letters-patent vest in the bishop the same superintendence and control, over all clerical persons within his diocese, as are exercised by bishops in English dioceses:" and the Court add their opinion, that "the powers conferred by these letters are precisely such as are, or may be, exercised in England, in respect to clergymen unbeneficed;

such as military or naval chaplains, ministers officiating in non-parochial or private chapels, or others." This resolution of the Court received the full sanction of the India Board; and the Bishop had thus the mortification to see himself at once deprived of one important source of that legitimate and beneficial influence which he was naturally anxious to establish over his clergy. His sense of the evils of this measure is clearly, but very temperately, expressed in the following extracts of a letter addressed by him to Mr. Courtenay, secretary to the India Board, dated Calcutta, April 25, 1817, and in which he also refers to several other topics of importance.

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"About a week has elapsed since I received your obliging letter of the 25th of September, together with a copy of the resolutions of the Court of Directors, rescinding the order of the supreme government respecting my stationing the Company's chaplains, and another respecting my domestic chaplain, and a third paper of less importance. The two former of these Lord Moira had already communicated to me; and the first of them in a very considerate and handsome manner, intimating his intention still to consult with me, and to attend to my wishes. This, however, though it marks his lordship's liberal spirit, will have no effect at the other presidencies; and though, perhaps, nothing can now be done to restore to the bishop this abrogated

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privilege, I cannot but regret, *upon public grounds*, that the Court of Directors have come to a decision by which they gain nothing, and the bishop loses a great deal. The truth is, that though this privilege is liable to be considered as patronage, it has very little of that character. The directors send to this country, as chaplains, whom they please; I could neither recommend nor negative any appointment; and when the chaplains are once in this country, their emoluments are so nearly equal, except at the presidencies, that the only operation of the right, in ordinary cases, could be to lead the clergy to consider the bishop as having the control in all clerical concerns; though even this had its limitations, *as the Governor-general in council had reserved the right of objecting to any or every nomination.* With regard to the presidencies, the advantages are considerably greater than at other stations; and here if the bishop had deviated from the received rule of nominating in the order of seniority, where there is no ground of objection, on the score of immoral conduct, the most conscientious discharge of such a trust might have been called patronage. Still, however, I am convinced, that mere seniority ought not to entitle a clergyman to a situation of so much importance. It would be but a bad rule, that the senior clergyman in Middlesex, being of unimpeached moral character, should succeed

on a vacancy at St. James's, or St. George's, Hanover Square: and though the chaplainships at the presidencies are not preferments of quite the same importance, they are still the most important we have; and, in our present circumstances, such situations require to be filled with all the ability and activity, which the fullest power of selection and the nicest discrimination can command. At Madras, the rule of seniority has been set aside; but not, I think, upon these principles: indeed I hardly know, supposing merit and efficiency to form the ground of preference, who could so fitly be the judge of it as the bishop, who is in constant correspondence with his clergy, and superintends them in the discharge of their duties. As to any influence which the bishop might have acquired by being thus looked up to, I really conceive, as Lord Moira did, that it would have been highly beneficial. As the case now stands, the bishop has, indeed, the power of censuring and correcting offences, but scarcely any of stimulating and encouraging exertion, nor is his good opinion a thing to be particularly desired. The right of collating to the archdeaconries, though given with this view, will hardly operate as was intended. No chaplain at the presidencies would accept the offer of one: his emoluments are probably nearly twice as great; and I imagine that a chaplain who had a reasonable prospect

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of, succeeding to the presidency within a few years, would very much hesitate: he might hardly be induced, after having been seven or eight years in India, to begin a new course of duty of fifteen years, for the sake of an archdeacon's pension, when, by remaining half that time, he might hope to retire on a chaplain's pension, and perhaps considerable savings. The only persons to whom the archdeaconries would be certainly desirable, would be those who have been but a short time in the country, though, from that very circumstance, they would be less qualified to exercise authority over clergymen much their seniors. If this inconvenience had been foreseen, it might, perhaps, have been remedied by providing that a chaplain who had served ten years or upwards, should be required to serve as an archdeacon only six more, in order to gain an archdeacon's pension: or he who had served seven years, to add ten to it, with the same prospect of advantage. This, I suppose, cannot now be accomplished [1]; there is, however, one question, upon which I could wish to be informed, in the event of being called upon to appoint an archdeacon; and

[1] A provision much in the manner here suggested, was made by Act of Parliament immediately after Bishop Middleton's death; when the period of service was also lessened from 15 to 10 years.

that is, who are the persons eligible? The canon (127) required the degree of at least A.M. or LL.D., but this would limit the choice still further, as not more than half, if so many, of the Company's chaplains, have graduated so far.

"I wrote to your Board from Bombay, upon several subjects, of which the importance is not lessened by subsequent events. One of them related to a marriage act for India, and I believe that nothing short of legislative interference will suffice. . . . . I am also anxious to know in what light the Church missionaries, being clergymen of the Church of England, are to be considered. The missionary whom I mentioned in my letter of September last, as being in regular orders, and wishing to be licensed as an assistant at the proprietary chapel in this place, has now stationed himself in the Garden Reach, about four miles from Calcutta, to take charge of a small school; and he has lately circulated a paper among the English families residing there, announcing his purpose of performing divine service in his own house every Sunday, and inviting them to attend; and he has since done the same thing more publicly in the Daily Advertiser. In this proceeding I have not been consulted; and it is such a direct infringement of everything like discipline, that I should have hardly expected it in a clergyman of the Church of England: but

CHAP. XIV. 1817. if clergymen can come out in the character of 'missionaries,' but instead of instructing and improving the natives, may advertise for English congregations wherever they please, amenable to no authority, there will at once be an end of all order and discipline in our Indian Church, and the Company may have some cause to complain of interference with their patronage. . . . . You will perceive from these statements that a bishop who is anxious to maintain and to advance the established religion, has not a very easy task. While writing this letter, I have heard from a Brahmin at Benares, who is quite disgusted with idolatry, and has, with several others, made some progress in the knowledge of Christianity. But he tells me that they have had among them not only Protestants (meaning the Church of England,) but Roman Catholics, and recently Baptists, and that their ways are quite different; '*by which*' he says, in his imperfect English, '*the poor Hindoos is in a great confusion!*'

"I rejoice to find that government are beginning to build churches in this presidency, *under an order of the Court, which was issued about twenty years since, but has lain dormant until now.* Fort William and Dum Dum (the artillery station near Calcutta,) are immediately to be commenced; and, unlike most of the churches built in the Madras presidency, they are to have

steeples, and the general appearance of churches. Lord Moira, I have reason to believe, is not ill inclined to a little more of the externals in the established religion of such an empire; and, if we would recommend our religion to the natives, it is quite indispensable. They can conceive nothing which they do not *see*.

"You do me the honour to suppose that my observations, in my late visitation, might be interesting to your board. I certainly saw a great deal, though travelling in India does not furnish the same opportunities of remark as a journey through England, or almost any part, I should conceive, of the continent of Europe. Much of it is a mere blank,—wild nature, unimproved by man. I think that, in my first letter to you after my return, I mentioned my visit to the Syrian Christians. I collected more respecting them than has, I believe, yet been told; and if I can find leisure (of which, however, I have very little), I may perhaps throw something together respecting that singular community."

It will be proper to mention in this place a question of some little delicacy, which was disposed of by the Bishop with his usual judgment and moderation. The Company's chaplains in India were frequently appointed to religious duties with European troops, either in garrison at the presidencies, or at the principal military stations. Previously to the episcopal establish-

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ment, it has been already stated, they were in such situations considered as military chaplains, and therefore under military control; but, by the proclamation of the governor-general, all such control was now expressly transferred, in the terms of the letters-patent, to the Bishop of Calcutta. A case, however, at this time occurred at Bombay, which called from Bishop Middleton a more distinct exposition of this rule; in discussing which some clear and valuable remarks are made on a point in which his own authority and the comfort and respectability of his clergy were intimately concerned.

On archdeacon Baynes's return to Bombay from Calcutta, an official communication was submitted to him by Sir Miles Nightingale, the commander-in-chief at that presidency, in consequence of some circumstances which had occurred between the general and the garrison chaplain, the Rev. R. Baynes. Sir Miles, in this reference to the archdeacon, expressed himself "anxious to have it understood that the garrison chaplain must be so far considered under military authority and control, as to be present at such hour, on the Sunday mornings, as the European soldiers may be ordered to attend divine service; and also, when the commander-in-chief may think proper to convey any message, officially, to the chaplain charged with the clerical duties of the troops in garrison, that

it is the duty of such chaplain to attend on the adjutant-general of the army, or such other public staff-officer as may be directed to make the communication."

These points archdeacon Barnes thought it right to submit immediately to the Bishop for his opinion and judgment; and his lordship's reply was to the following effect[1]:—" A careful perusal of the correspondence submitted to me leads me to repeat what I stated publicly at my late visitation, that many of the clergy are still, by the nature of their duties, military chaplains; and this circumstance necessarily places them in a certain relation towards the highest military authority at the station at which they are to perform their duties. The clergy are, indeed, by his majesty's letters-patent, to consider themselves as under ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but this jurisdiction must be taken to go in aid of the performance of duties which are still military, and have military persons for their object. In this state of things, it is obvious that the commanding officer must be permitted to name the hour of divine service, supposing always that he will not name an hour which is altogether irregular and uncanonical; the preservation of military discipline seems in all cases to reserve this right to the officer commanding; and in

[1] Letter to archdeacon Barnes, July 5, 1817.

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this climate, especially, a due regard to the health of the troops, makes it indispensable that the hour of service should be fixed by himself. I am of opinion, therefore, that the alteration of the hour of attendance could not afford the garrison chaplain any just ground of complaint. It is equally clear, that a reasonable notice of such intended alterations should be given to the officiating clergyman; but on this I have the less reason to insist, as the principle is distinctly admitted by his Excellency, who imputes the omission to the inadvertence of the proper officer, and engages that such inadvertence shall not recur." On the second point in discussion the Bishop remarks, "However painful such a notice, to attend at the office of the adjutant-general, might be to the garrison chaplain, it was to be considered that the Commander-in-chief had no other alternative, than that of either continuing a correspondence which had already gone too far, or of bringing it to a conclusion verbally in the manner proposed. In any other case, I conceive, it would have been unnecessary to require the garrison chaplain to appear personally before the adjutant-general; but (concludes the Bishop) under all the circumstances of the case, Mr. Baynes should not have declined to comply with the requisition." And to avoid, as much as possible, future collisions between the chaplains and the chief

military authorities, the Bishop expressed his desire that all correspondence, preferring complaints against the clergy, should be carried on with the archdeacon of the presidency. With this view the lieutenant-general expressed his entire satisfaction, and trusted that the Bishop's suggestions would prevent a recurrence of any similar unpleasant circumstances.

To the disappointment occasioned by the repeal of the order of the supreme government, respecting the nomination of chaplains, were added various other circumstances of discouragement. The Governor-general had ordered that a residence should be provided for the Bishop, at the public expence. This measure, however, had been disapproved and rescinded by the Honourable Court of Directors, and the burden of house-rent (which in Calcutta is quite enormous), was still to press upon the Bishop's already inadequate revenue[1]. And here let it be mentioned to his honour, that, though defeated in his efforts to procure this accommodation for himself, he was always unremitting in his endeavours to obtain it for his archdeacons, who laboured under a similar disadvantage; from which they are not yet relieved. As an instance of his kind and zealous attention to their interests, the following passage

[1] From this burden his successors have been relieved.

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is subjoined, from a letter to archdeacon Barnes, dated Calcutta, June 21, 1817: "Archdeacon Loring is still in hopes of getting a house, and at his request I have sent in his letter, applying for one to the government here, with my own remarks upon it, which he requests may be sent to England. A bishop without a house comes forward rather awkwardly as an advocate for his archdeacons: but I have, nevertheless, ventured to recommend that you should all have houses, adding, which I thought an act of justice, that any extension of favour to the office could hardly be granted when it would seem to be more closely connected with the personal deservings of the individuals who held their appointments." The reply of the Court of Directors in refusing the archdeacons houses is remarkable, assigning as their reason that the act says, "the archdeacon's salaries are to be in lieu of all fees, emoluments, and advantages whatsoever;" whereby, they said, they were precluded from granting the indulgence. Another source of discomfort to the Bishop was, that his urgent and repeated representations, respecting the expediency of a marriage act in India, were entirely disregarded, and the subject left in the same desperate confusion in which he found it; with this additional cause of perplexity, that Dr. Bryce still persisted in solemnising matrimony, in spite of an express prohibition from the

presbytery of Edinburgh. Again, he was extremely desirous of being invested with the power to assign small salaries of 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year to half-castes, whom he would have ordained to preach to natives in their own language, and who would have been bound to use a translation of the English Liturgy; a plan from which he anticipated the most desirable and blessed effects. This power was, however, positively refused him, and the design consequently fell to the ground. In short, of all the propositions which his experience and observation had prompted him to submit to the authorities at home, not one had been fortunate enough to be distinguished by their approbation and support. *All these things were against him.* They were, in truth, sufficient to dash the firmest and most sanguine spirit. To an ardent, anxious, and perspicacious mind, like that of Bishop Middleton, they were peculiarly painful: and the infliction was severe precisely in proportion to the sagacity with which he discerned what the exigencies of his diocese required, and to the intensity of his devotion to the duties of his office. The depression which he experienced from these distressing circumstances would occasionally betray itself in his letters to England. "I cannot express to you," he says in a letter to Mr. Norris[1], "the satisfaction I derive from

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[1] Dated August 18, 1817.

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your correspondence, or how much it tends, together with the letters of a few other friends, to dissipate certain unwelcome feelings to which, notwithstanding constant occupation, I am sometimes liable; but, really, the difficulties and mortifications I have to encounter are sometimes almost too much for me." He then dwells upon the affliction of seeing clearly how every thing *might* prosper in the cause of the Gospel, and of witnessing, at the same time, the multitude of adverse circumstances which, though, perhaps, in some measure accidental and undesigned, yet *seemed* to be united, as in a sort of conspiracy, to crush the Church in its infancy. At the conclusion of the letter he expresses himself thus:—"St. Bernard," (whose works he had desired to have sent out to him), "was the best and wisest of monks, and, if I live some years, I shall wish, perhaps, after all this turmoil, to end my few days in an almost monastic solitude; and I am anxious to know how the mind works in such a situation. Fifteen years of an Indian bishopric would leave but little which is of any use to the world." In spite, however, of the shadows which would thus pass over his spirit, his faculties were constantly and intensely employed on the grand interest committed to his keeping. Among the objects of his solicitude, the Tranquebar mission occupied a principal place. "In my last letter

to you," he writes, "I mentioned my anxiety respecting the Tranquebar mission. It is still dependent upon me. I have not, however, written to the Society, from whom I have not heard a syllable in answer to what I wrote respecting their own missions; and something should be done. *If the Society could consolidate the two*[1] *missions, it would be a great measure indeed!* And when my means of supporting the Danes fail, (which they must ere long), they will look out for other masters: but at any rate, our own missions must be supported, or given up. I was unwilling to say so much in a letter which might possibly be read at the board; but really things are in a very bad state. The whole mission must soon rest entirely on Mr. Kollhoff, who is, indeed, an excellent man, but unequal to the duties of several; and Mr. Pohlè[2] was, when I saw him, bending under the weight of years." It was in consequence of the timely aid which the Bishop advanced to this mission on the Society's behalf, that 100 children, who had been dismissed from school for want of means to support the teachers, were enabled to resume their education. In addition to this measure of relief, the Bishop granted the Tranquebar mission an allowance of 150*l.* a year, out

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[1] Tranquebar and Tanjore. [2] Mr. Pohlè died in 1818.

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of a fund of subscriptions raised by himself. The Danish missionaries, in a letter to the Society, acknowledged that this timely assistance was "the only cause by which their mission was saved from ruin." The missionaries afterwards received some support from his Danish majesty; but being unable to provide catechists for the charge of 1300 Christians in the Tanjore country belonging to their mission, at their request, and with Bishop Middleton's concurrence, these Christians were transferred to the Tanjore mission [1].

The reader will recollect the intercourse of the Bishop with the celebrated *convert* Rammohun Roy, and may possibly be curious to learn something respecting the religious progress of that person. In this same letter the Bishop speaks of him in the following terms: "As to Rammohun Roy, I fear he is not, and never will be, even a Socinian! He seems, at present, to be as pure a Deist as ever breathed. He has, indeed, renounced idolatry, as forming no part of the religion of nature: but not one (here) supposed him near being a Christian after he had written his book; it was before he was an author, and when he would talk for hours together

[1] See Report of Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1830, p. 183.

upon the beauty of our religion, and the truth of the Gospel. He afterwards fell into bad hands; and I see as little chance of his being a Christian, as of my becoming a Hindoo. He is, at this moment, the chief *talker* among the *philosophers* here; and is much too well pleased with himself to receive the doctrines of Christ. They would only degrade him!" CHAP. XIV. 1817.

Another extract is given from this letter for the purpose of shewing Bishop Middleton's indestructible love of literature, and the sacrifice of this feeling which his various duties exacted of him. "My reading is very little; my Litany lectures occupy some portion of my time, and will not be finished till September or October twelvemonth, if Providence spare me so long; and then probably I shall print them for circulation through the provinces. I have some reason to think they will furnish views, which, though common enough in England, are not familiar in this country. I am also in the midst of my Syriac MSS. I have got together some excellent collections[1]; and then I am learning the common language of the natives, Hindostani. These objects, together with diocesan matters, letters,

[1] Among these was a very valuable MS. of the Ecclesiastical Law of the Syrian Christians, compiled from the canons and decrees of various councils. The arrival of this and other Syriac documents is mentioned by the Bishop in a letter to archdeacon Barnes, dated June 21, 1817.

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business, and as many visitors in the course of a week, as would make a tolerable levée, leave me but little disposable time. Still, however, I retain an unabated love of books; and shall feel myself very rich when you are able to send me out the supply in lieu of those lost in the *British Hero*, respecting which I wrote to you in January."

To the above is added a postscript relative to an event of no very usual occurrence in modern times,—the conversion of a Popish dignitary from the errors of Rome! "You will perhaps hear something about the abjuration of Popery by the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoli. The man is certainly married, and has quitted his convent where I saw him on my visitation; and is making himself acquainted with the principles of the Church of England; but I have not heard from him. . . . . The matter has made a stir, and it is supposed that others will follow his example. The misfortune is, I have nothing to give these people, so they must seek for patronage elsewhere."

It appears that about this time the establishment of Bishop Middleton was augmented by the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Hawtayne from England, to reside with him in the capacity of domestic chaplain. This arrangement was made in pursuance of a resolution of the Court of Directors, dated April 8, 1816, "that the Bishop of Calcutta for the time being should be allowed

a domestic chaplain, to be selected by himself; but that in the event of his not being chosen from among the chaplains in the Company's service, he be required to return to England immediately, on the death, or coming away of the Bishop, and that he be allowed a salary equal to that enjoyed by the junior chaplain resident at Calcutta, without any fees or emolument whatever." Mr. Hawtayne was M.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, and came out to India, with an appointment from the Court as chaplain on the Calcutta establishment, though, in reality, with the view of being domestic chaplain to the Bishop; and was, accordingly, received into his lordship's family in that character immediately after his arrival.

CHAPTER XV.

Archdeacon's use of the Presidency pulpit—Letters to archdeacon Mousley and the Madras chaplains—Discussion with the Bombay Government on the validity of his Licenses to the Clergy—Dispatch from the Court of Directors, and the Bishop's reply on the same subject—Error of the Bombay Government in the suspension of archdeacon Barnes' Salary.

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A QUESTION arose in the course of the present year of a very important nature, which was referred to the Bishop for his decision. This question was first agitated at Madras, and the point in dispute was the use by the archdeacon of the pulpit of the principal presidency church. It will be remembered that Bishop Middleton early made regulations for the clerical duties at the presidencies, and assigned particular days on which he wished the archdeacons to occupy the pulpit of the principal or archidiaconal church. For some little time no objection appears to have been made to this arrangement. But in the course of the year, after the Bishop's return to Calcutta, a communication was made to him by archdeacon Mousley, forwarding some corres-

pondence which had taken place between himself and the presidency chaplains at Madras. The following letters of the Bishop will most clearly exhibit the points of this important case, and at the same time display the superior force and sagacity of his official decisions.

TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON MOUSLEY, MADRAS.

Calcutta, January 20, 1818.

REVEREND SIR,

I have received from you sundry documents relating to a doubt entertained by the chaplains of the presidency church at Madrás, respecting the right of the archdeacon to the use of the pulpit; but those to which I shall principally confine my attention are the two papers which are signed conjointly by the chaplains, the former bearing date the 28th of November last, and professing to "remonstrate against further submissions injurious to the chaplains' rights," and declaring that they esteem the pulpit to be as entirely their "own, as it is of any rector or vicar in England;"—and the latter, dated December 3, in which the same gentlemen state, that they "solemnly protest against your right to any control over the pulpit, and resist your occupation of it at will." It is hardly to be expected that I should enter into the merits of this question without expressing my regret, that language so little tempered with meekness or respect

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should have been deemed expedient, when every desirable end might have been equally well attained by a proper reference, not indeed to yourself in this particular instance, as being a party, but to the Bishop, to whom all such questions must ultimately devolve. My regret is not lessened, when I observe that the whole of this proceeding is founded in a misconception of the nature and tenure of the situations which English clergymen hold in India. These documents, not merely in one of the passages to which I have referred, but generally and throughout, are framed upon the assumption, that the East India Company's chaplains are to be taken as parochial incumbents. It is my earnest wish, as a friend to every measure which can add to the respectability and increase the usefulness of my clergy, that I may live to see them put upon this most desirable footing; but till this shall be accomplished, all reasoning founded upon the rights of the beneficed clergy in England must evidently be fallacious, and can only tend to confusion. A rector in England is indeed, "*personæ ecclesiæ*, in full possession of all the rights of a parochial church;" his spiritual rights are conveyed to him by institution, and his temporal rights by induction: but in India, except in the case of the archdeacons, there is neither institution nor induction, nor any oath against simony; but the whole tenure

is simply a nomination from the local government in consequence of a general appointment by the Court of Directors, upon which the Bishop is authorised to grant his license if he see fit. To license the chaplains is all which the Bishop has power to do; he cannot give them institution; the license granted is the same which in England is granted to stipendiary curates on their nomination by an incumbent, and the effect of the license is not only to authorise the chaplain to officiate, but to prevent his removal against his will, unless the Bishop shall see fit to revoke the license, and certainly to give him an exclusive right to his pulpit against all other chaplains not authorised in like manner to assist him in his duties.

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But after this original misconception, I am not surprised that the presidency chaplains do not perceive the ground of the archdeacon's claims. They remark, indeed, very truly, that "it is not by the archdeacon that the law has provided for the duties of the pulpit:" the thing is in its own nature impossible both in England and in India; in England it is by incumbents, or those to whom they delegate their duties; and with respect to India, the law has recognised the right of the East India Company to send English clergymen to this country to officiate at the stations to which they shall be appointed and licensed. But these stations are not parishes,

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and of course we have no parochial churches; and it seems not to have been considered, that the case of the principal church at Madras and at Bombay is, if possible, still further removed than the others from the analogy of a church in an English parish; for, in these instances, there is not only the defect of absolute and exclusive right conveyed by institution and induction, but there is also a diminution of the right conveyed by license, by the institution and induction of another. It is said, indeed, that you were inducted into St. Mary's church, and not into St. George's, which is now the presidency church; but on this I have only to observe, that St. Mary's was the presidency church at that time; you could not be inducted into St. George's church otherwise than prospectively; and to prevent all future exception, I directed that neither St. Mary's nor St. George's should be specified in my mandate, requiring the commissary only to induct you into the principal church, and to defend you so inducted: and though the presidency chaplains are correct in supposing that an official seat is not transferable at will from church to church, yet in this transaction there is nothing of so vague and gratuitous a character; the chaplains themselves were, I apprehend, transposed at the same time, from the same cause, and in the same manner: and though, if I had entertained the doubts upon

this subject now felt by the chaplains, I might have issued a fresh mandate of induction, or might do it still, yet I am satisfied with what has been done. We have, indeed, in England no law or usage relating expressly to presidency churches; my guide must be analogy: and when a church is rebuilt in England, though it should be at the other end of the most extensive parish, the rector would not be re-inducted, but might sue for his tithes or other rights upon the ground of his original induction.

But still the question remains, in the present instance, what are the rights of the archdeacon of Madras, with respect to the presidency church? The chaplains admit, without reserve, his claim to "the oversight of the duties of the pulpit, and to watch and enforce the due performance of them;" and I will add, that all matters of regulation, which would fall within the province of the bishop, if he were upon the spot, belong to the archdeacon, subject, of course, in case of doubt or dispute, to the Bishop's revision. With regard, however, to the archdeacon's duties in the service of the Church, I see no reason to depart from the tenor of my letter of the 10th of July, 1815, which you appear to have communicated to the chaplains. I there gave it as my judgment, that the archdeacon ought to preach on the principal festivals and at other times occasionally; about which I

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certainly did not foresee any chance of dispute. The presidency chaplains, however, observe, that here I do not advert to the law of the case, or the custom of the Church; and they express a concern, in which I heartily participate, that here my sentiments have not afforded them full satisfaction. I could, however, suggest to them, that when they ask for laws and canons and, customs of the Church strictly and verbally applicable to such cases as that under consideration, they ask for what not only does not but cannot exist. All these suppose, with respect to the clergy, the existence of parishes, and with respect to dignitaries, that of a cathedral within a practicable distance, whither such dignitaries are to repair at stated times, and take their portion of the duties. But their dignities are not usually their only preferments: an archdeacon, especially, has commonly a benefice within the limits of his archdeaconry, where he at once attends to the ecclesiastical concerns of his jurisdiction, and discharges within the limits of his parish the duties of a parochial incumbent. Now nothing of all this applies to the state of India, for neither can the archdeacon of Madras be expected to come at stated times to the cathedral at Calcutta, neither has he any cure exclusively his own within his archdeaconry, nor indeed any where: so that, according to the view of the subject taken by the presidency

chaplains of Madras, the archdeacons of Madras and Bombay could never be heard from the pulpits of their respective churches, unless by asking leave of the chaplains. It is impossible to suppose that the legislature intended any thing so humiliating to the archdeacons, or that they would have created an appointment which thus, instead of tending to give dignity and consideration to the established religion, would rather involve it in discredit, from the apparent supineness of the higher clergy in maintaining and advancing Christianity. His Majesty, by letters-patent, has been graciously pleased to direct, that in future the archdeaconries shall be given, as they become vacant, to chaplains of the Company, intending, no doubt, the encouragement and reward of superior learning and piety; but I need hardly observe, that if clergymen thus honourably recommended are to be *ipso facto* silenced by their advancement, a regard for the interests of religion ought perhaps to lead the Bishop to select, for his archdeacons, persons of inferior qualifications.

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I have, therefore, no scruple in considering the right of the archdeacons to take part in the duties of the principal church in their respective archdeaconries, to be a right intended and implied in their very appointment, and virtually conveyed to them by their institution; and that, even though the presidency chaplains were

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"personæ ecclesiæ," (if indeed the definition of that character, as cited from Blackstone, will allow us to suppose two "personæ" in one and the same church) I should still be of opinion, that this would be no bar to the right of the archdeacon to a certain participation in the use of the pulpit; inasmuch as the chaplains could not hold their rights by a fuller sanction, than that upon which the archdeacon grounds his claim. But I need not insist upon what in this diocese is merely hypothetical; we have here neither rectors, nor vicars, nor parishes; and I conceive that the share, which the archdeacon shall take in the service of the principal church within his archdeaconry, is entirely matter of episcopal regulation. The canons and constitutions of the Church of England could not provide for such a case, either one way or the other; the persons who framed them having never contemplated any thing precisely similar to the state of the Church of England in India. In such a state of things much must be matter of episcopal regulation; and much of that, which is now ecclesiastical law, is well known to have originally proceeded from no other source. I see, therefore, no reason to depart from the tenor of my original view of this question, but rather, much which confirms it. At Bombay I assigned to the archdeacon nearly the same Sundays and festivals for his turns of preaching, which I have given

to the bishop in the cathedral: *viz.* the morning of Septuagesima Sunday, First Sunday in Lent, Good Friday, Easter Day, Whit-Sunday, the First Sunday in Advent, and Christmas-day. These occasions I could wish the archdeacon to consider as his proper turns; to be taken, however, by the chaplain whose turn it would otherwise be, if the archdeacon be sick or necessarily absent. But I am still of opinion, that an archdeacon confining himself to his appointed turns would hardly be actuated with the earnestness and zeal, which might reasonably be expected, from his station. On the other hand, I am well aware, that rights pushed to extremities, or exercised in an uncourteous or inconsiderate manner, do frequently become wrongs; and I should by no means approve in an archdeacon,—(much otherwise,) any needless or vexatious interference with the chaplains in their reasonable claims. With respect to your catechetical lectures, it does appear to me, that they might, upon other grounds than those which I have been considering, be more properly resumed on the Wednesday or Friday (except Good Friday) during Lent. Even if the attendance should be comparatively small, still nothing could be more seasonable or appropriate: and with regard to the remainder, I would recommend that they be delivered on every Sunday afternoon, till they are brought to a conclusion, the evening being

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more usually allotted to instruction of that kind. But, in general, if you wish to preach occasionally, you would not exceed your just participation in the use of the pulpit by preaching once any month, in which you have not an appointed turn. In this arrangement, I mean not to include any lecture in Lent delivered on the week-days. The part belonging to you in the Communion Service and Sacrament will be that which usually belongs to dignitaries, during their residence at their respective cathedrals; it being impossible that I should assign you any portion of the duties at Calcutta. I believe that I need hardly add, that I do not consider the archdeacons as having any thing to do in the ministrations to which fees are attached, unless with consent of the chaplain, to whom the duty belongs; and even then, such ministration, with respect to the archdeacon, should be gratuitous.

I cannot, consistently with my duty, conclude my letter, without animadverting upon one of the documents transmitted by you, marked No. 2, being a note addressed to you by the Rev. Mr. Vaughan, the senior chaplain; in which, on a given supposition, Mr. Vaughan states, that in the evening he would "only take the prayers," and professes his assurance "that he should be supported in this by the Governor-in-council, if a report from him should be neces-

sary." I cannot reconcile this declaration either with that over-sight of the duties of the pulpit which Mr. Vaughan has attributed to the archdeacon, or with the desire professed in the other documents, to be guided by the laws and usages of the Church at home: where a reference to the civil authority upon a point so exclusively ecclesiastical, as whether there should be an afternoon sermon at a particular church, is utterly unknown. I have, however, a well-grounded reliance that the right honourable the Governor-in-council would not, for a moment, entertain such a question, but would dismiss it to be determined by the authority to which the legislature has given the cognizance.

I have to request that you will communicate this letter to the Rev. Mr. Vaughan and the Rev. Mr. Thompson, the presidency chaplains.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

This wise and temperate decision was not immediately acquiesced in by the presidency chaplains[1], and a further reference was made

[1] Notwithstanding this decision, precisely the same question was subsequently agitated at Bombay, in the time of Bishop Heber, who confirmed the determination of his predecessor. —See Bishop Heber's letter to Mr. Davies, Life of Heber, vol. ii. p. 164.

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by them in a joint letter to the Bishop, in which they submitted to his lordship the objections they still entertained to the assigned use of the pulpit by the archdeacon. To this the Bishop made the following reply:

TO THE REV. E. VAUGHAN, AND THE REV. M. THOMPSON, PRESIDENCY CHAPLAINS, MADRAS.

Calcutta, April 3, 1818.

Reverend Sirs,

Some indisposition and much business have prevented me from paying earlier attention to your joint letter of the 17th of February; though even now I have but little to remark upon it, having so fully considered the question in my letter to archdeacon Mousley of the 20th of January, a copy of which is in your hands. From the judgment, which I then, upon mature deliberation, delivered, I find no reason to recede. At the same time, it will afford me much satisfaction, if the few remarks, which have suggested themselves on reading your letter, should have the effect of removing from your minds every remaining doubt; and I am the more solicitous on this head, when I observe the temperate and candid language of your present communication.

I readily concede to you, that the question of your right in the pulpit is not a light one,

however I may be of opinion that you were misled by a supposed analogy as to the extent of it. But for that analogy, carried at least to such a length, you do not now contend; the only difficulties, which seem still to embarrass you, respect a clause in his majesty's letters-patent, and a passage in Dr. Burn's Ecclesiastical Law. CHAP. XV. 1818.

The clause in the letters-patent, which refers to the powers and functions of the archdeacons, does not, it is true, expressly give them authority to preach in the churches of their respective presidencies, or any where else. It directs that they shall be assisting to the Bishop "according to the duty of an archdeacon by the laws of England;" and from this you collect, by a tacit inference, that the archdeacons were contemplated as not having a right to preach. Now looking at this clause, with the most rigid impartiality, I cannot bring myself to believe, either from the words of it, or from the reason of the case, that it was ever intended to have any bearing on the question. The letters-patent were submitted to me by his Majesty's government in the rough draft; and I did not fail to inquire into the object and true construction of every part of them, before I returned them. The clause alluded to is evidently a limitation of the archdeacon's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and nothing more. He is to be assisting to the

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Bishop in the exercise of such jurisdiction and functions, as had already been limited to the Bishop. The right of preaching was entirely out of view. It was clearly presumed, that the Bishop would make such arrangements for the preaching of the archdeacons, as he might find expedient, and which should not interfere with any declared and legal right; and, in the present instance, no right can be pleaded so absolute and exclusive, as to be at all infringed by the archdeacon's limited participation in the use of the pulpit.

With respect to what you cite from Burn, who cites Watson, on the subject of the non-subscription of archdeacons to the thirty-nine articles, I observe, that it seems sufficiently to excuse the archdeacons from subscribing: but I do not find in the passage, nor have I ever heard, that the exemption is founded upon the presumption, that archdeacons, as archdeacons, are never required to preach. The contrary is well known to be the fact: and, therefore, an archdeaconry is not what you denominate a "non-preaching benefice," though it be true, as Dr. Burn observes, and what I have never controverted, (though you appear so to interpret a passage of my former letter) that archdeaconries are not "such benefices with cure as have particular churches belonging to them." The contradistinction here is plainly

between archdeacons, and those who are "*personæ ecclesiarum*," to whom particular churches do (exclusively) belong. Many plausible conjectures might be offered to explain that archdeacons are not subject to the general rule; but I find not either in Burn, or in any of the books, what you state, that the archdeacons not being required to preach is the ground, on which expressly he is privileged with exemption from subscribing. He is not, I believe, expressly exempted any where; though it is now very generally agreed, that he does not fall within the meaning of the statute of Elizabeth. CHAP. XV. 1818.

Upon the whole, then, of this matter, I can only refer you to the full consideration of it given in my letter to archdeacon Mousley, of the 20th of January, requesting that you will consider this letter as to be taken in connection with the former, and regard it as intended, to remove, if possible, every remaining feeling of uneasiness. In this, and in every decision which I may be called upon to make, my first object must be the fulfilment of strict and impartial justice according to the ecclesiastical law of England, wherever it is applicable to the circumstances of the Church in this diocese; and, where no direct provision has been made, by adhering to the principles of analogy and reason, and the general interests of religion. But, while I state this to be my primary object, that which

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is secondary I shall never, I trust, regard as inconsiderable; but shall rejoice whenever the resolutions laid down by me shall be seen to be just and expedient by all whom they may directly or even remotely affect.

I am, Reverend Sirs,

Your faithful brother and servant,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

There was another department of his episcopal functions in which the Bishop had considerable opposition to encounter, and to which it will be necessary to advert for the purpose of shewing that, in the exercise of his authority, he had, as it were, every foot of ground to contest. There was in some quarters a strong disposition to dispute the validity of his licenses to the clergy, and to reduce their effect to that of a mere certificate or testimonial. It has been already mentioned, that the Court of Directors had rescinded the order of the supreme government, by which the power of originating the nomination of chaplains to their stations, was transferred to the Bishop. The local authorities were disposed to construe the despatch from the government, into the right of removing chaplains at their pleasure, even from stations to which they had been duly licensed by the Bishop, after receiving their appointment, in the usual manner, from their respective governments. This con-

struction,—which would amount to no less than an invasion of his own rights and those of his clergy, and materially affect their comfort, as well as the regularity of their ministrations,—the Bishop felt it his duty to resist; and a correspondence, relative to a case in which the question seemed to be involved at Bombay, arose between him and archdeacon Barnes, parts of which are here inserted, as exhibiting the Bishop's just views of the authority which the occasion called upon him to maintain.

On the Bishop's visitation at Bombay, in 1816, he had regularly licensed the Rev. Robert Baynes to be garrison and junior presidency chaplain: he being, at that time, the second chaplain on the establishment of that archdeaconry, resident in India. In the course, however, of the present year, the Rev. R. C. Jackson, Mr. Baynes's senior in the service, returned from England, with an intimation in the despatch from the Court of Directors, that "his return to his duty was to be *without prejudice to his rank;*" an expression usually annexed to the permission from the Court for the return to India of their civil and military servants, and the effect of which is to place their names on the list in the same relation to others in which they stood previously to quitting the country. The Bombay government, however, interpreted the expression to imply also, that Mr. Jackson was to be immediately

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reinstated in the chaplaincy, which he held three years before, when he retired to England for the recovery of his health. In an official communication, therefore, to the archdeacon, they nominated Mr. Jackson to be garrison and junior presidency chaplain, and appointed Mr. Baynes to the chaplaincy of Tannah, then vacant.

On this being notified by the archdeacon to the Bishop, he immediately adverts to the inconvenience and irregularity of such a proceeding in the following manner, in a letter, dated Calcutta, July 8, 1817:

. . . . . "I am sorry to find that there is any intention of placing Mr. Jackson in the garrison; it will oblige me to explain to your government what is the nature of a license. The Company can appoint their chaplains to stations; but when appointed and licensed, I conceive that they are not removable. In England a rector appoints his own curate, but the Bishop's license is good against the rector, if he wishes to put in another person. These are very unwelcome discussions, but I cannot help them: I am bound to maintain the authority vested in me by the crown. When it is said, that the Bishop may licence the clergy, it can never mean that any other authority can revoke such licenses; it is contrary to analogy and the very reason of the case; there is then an end of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction altogether. Perhaps

you may have an opportunity of explaining this matter to the Governor. I do not mean that you should shew him this note, but merely explain to him what is the effect and validity of a license by that ecclesiastical law, by which I am directed to act; and that the right of the Company or their governments to nominate to stations, is quite distinct from that of displacing clergymen who have already been appointed, and regularly licensed. I dare say that the difference has not been considered. Pray state it, if you have the opportunity, as clearly and temperately as you can. It would be a serious injury to the clergy, as well as the annihilation of the Bishop's jurisdiction, to attempt to set aside their licenses. A chaplain of the archdeaconry of Madras, under the protection of his license, has begun to build a house at his station: in time, perhaps, other clergymen may follow his example; and unless the law is to be violated, they are perfectly safe."

The same subject is more fully discussed in another letter to the archdeacon, dated Calcutta, July 21, 1817, about a fortnight later.

. . . . . "The more I consider the proposed measure of superseding Mr. Baynes as garrison and junior presidency chaplain, to make way for Mr. Jackson, the greater is the difficulty which I find in giving it my acquiescence: indeed, I do not see that I can do it consistently with my duty. You state that the government

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conceive that Mr. Jackson is entitled to the appointment under the orders of the Court. Upon this point I must observe, that the right of the Court, through the local governments, to nominate chaplains to particular stations, must be so interpreted as to be consistent with his Majesty's letters-patent, granted under the same charter, to which the Court allude, when they say in the despatch referring to this business, that they "think it of importance to maintain the rights conferred upon them by Act of Parliament;" and they further observe, that the letters-patent do not affect this right, which is not a "matter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but of lay patronage." The Bishop's jurisdiction they admit to be the same as that of bishops in England; and the right of licensing his clergy is expressly vested in the Bishop of Calcutta by the letters-patent. But this right will be completely set aside, if a chaplain nominated and appointed by the local government, and approved and licensed by the Bishop, be removable by any other than the Bishop's authority. The analogy used by the Court of Directors, is that of lay patronage in England; but lay patronage, like all other, is incapable of being exercised with respect to preferments which are already full. But the case lies in a narrow compass: if the government can appoint to stations, which are full, as well as to those which are vacant, the

Bishop's license is of no validity; but the letters-patent clearly intend, even as interpreted by the Honourable Court, that it should be of the same validity as in England. I really believe that these points have not been adverted to; and I have the fullest confidence that a verbal explanation on your part with the Governor, will make every thing clear. But if the Governor wishes me to write directly and officially on the subject, I can have no other objection, than that which I must always feel in formally maintaining a right, however unequivocal it may be." CHAP. XV. 1818.

Archdeacon Barnes, agreeably with the Bishop's wishes, personally explained to Sir Evan Nepean his lordship's views and sentiments on this case. The Governor assured the archdeacon that he had the fullest confidence in the Bishop's judgment, and every wish to conform to his views; but as the case evidently involved principles of considerable importance, and on points in which he was himself not well competent to decide, he desired it might remain over for a short time, in order to enable him to obtain legal advice as to the general extent and validity of the Bishop's licenses, and with a particular reference to this case.

It would appear that some of the authorities at Bombay, thought that the Bishop's license should be merely a certificate authorising the chaplain to read prayers and preach, without

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reference to any particular station. They also were desirous of assigning to Mr. Jackson, the superior salary attached to the situation as yet held by Mr. Baynes, asserting that the Bishop's license could not carry with it any right to a particular salary. On this, the Bishop remarks in a letter, dated Calcutta, December 4, 1817, to archdeacon Barnes :—

. . . . . "I am rather surprised at the very strange reasonings, or rather doubts, which you state to be afloat respecting the validity of my licenses, and that the letters-patent may have meant by 'a license', something which was never known or heard of by that name, a testimonial to be carried to another diocese. How could such a thing, if, by a strange mistake, it had been called a license, ever enable the clergy to officiate in India? The notion is so absurd, that I must surely mistake what is meant by it: and, as to my assigning to the clergy the salaries already granted, or hereafter to be granted, &c., it is certainly quite compatible with any alteration or reduction to be made by the Company. All that I assign is, such salary, &c. *be it what it may,* to the licensed clergyman; every thing there is his right, and his recompense, and no other can interfere with him. There must surely be a disposition to cavil, when the meaning is so plain. But the supposition of the reduction of the salaries can be only an

imaginary difficulty; such a measure is hardly to be contemplated."

It was not until the month of April following, that this business was finally disposed of. The result was, that the Bombay government conceded the point that no chaplain should be nominated to a station unless vacant at the time; and this was all the Bishop required for the validity of his licenses, and the protection of his clergy. The government, of course, had still the power of removing a chaplain from one station to another, whenever the exigencies of the service required it; but, in such cases, it was desirable to obtain always the opinion and suggestion of the ecclesiastical authority. Mr. Baynes, after some hesitation, voluntarily resigned his situation, and accepted the inferior appointment to Tannah. "I take it for granted," says the Bishop[1], "upon what you state, that the chaplain consents to the removal; but it may be right to ascertain this point in writing; though cases might arise, (as when a very important station was left vacant by death or otherwise, and the chaplain of an inconsiderable one had no good reason to plead for wishing to remain there,) when I should consent to his removal, whether he approved it or not. My license should protect the interests of the

[1] Letter to archdeacon Barnes, April 22, 1818.

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clergy, but should not be pleaded in mere evasion of duty, of which I should reserve to myself the judgment."

The Bishop, considering the circumstances of this case to be important, was careful to have the matter so recorded, that it should be impossible to appeal to this case as a precedent in disparagement of his episcopal authority. He instructed the archdeacon that Mr. Baynes's resignation should be drawn up in writing, according to a form which he himself transmitted to Bombay. This resignation was then sent to him; on which, he despatched his own written acceptance of it to the archdeacon. The letter, which contains his final instructions on this point, shews, at once, his knowledge of business, and his vigilant care of the authority rightfully attached to his office.

TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BARNES.

Calcutta, April 29, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,

"I transmit to you, under this cover, an instrument, by which I accept the Reverend Mr. Baynes's resignation of the junior residency and garrison chaplaincy of Bombay, and also his license, with the requisite endorsement (to the chaplaincy of Tannah). I have to request that you will convey both of these to Mr. Baynes, taking care *first* to have the endorsement entered

in the register. The resignation I suppose has already been entered; and my acceptance of it is registered *here*. I must also trouble you to write to your government, to inform them that Mr. Baynes's resignation of the aforesaid chaplaincy has been accepted by me, and that he is now licensed to the chaplaincy of Tannah; and that the Rev. Mr. Jackson has been licensed to the chaplaincy vacated by Mr. Baynes. Mr. Jackson's license and certificate will be sent in a day or two. CHAP. XV. 1818.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully,
T. F. CALCUTTA.

It may, perhaps, simplify the narrative to introduce in this place the substance of a despatch from the Honourable Court of Directors, dated February 18, 1820, which will explain the view taken by them of this important question. It was addressed to the supreme government at Calcutta, and it referred to a letter of the Bishop's, dated Sept. 16, 1817, in which his lordship stated his reasons for objecting to the appointment of Mr. Jackson to the junior chaplaincy, and for refusing to license him to that station, except in the case of a voluntary cession on the part of Mr. Baynes. In this despatch, they said, that although the Bishop's objections had been removed by the resignation of Mr.

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Baynes, yet it was expedient to send instructions with a view to such cases in future. The power of the court, they contended, in regard to chaplains, and the rules established by them, affecting their appointment and emoluments, was neither abrogated, altered, or impaired, by the Act of Parliament, nor by the letters-patent. The power granted to the bishop by those letters, implies a right to withhold his license where the parties are disqualified for the spiritual duties. Their temporal interests were beyond the sphere of the bishop's jurisdiction, and were wholly under the protection of the court. Whereas, the bishop's refusal to license a chaplain to a particular station, because the interests of another chaplain might be affected by it, would be an indirect interference with lay patronage, if not a direct assumption of it, and might give rise to an inconvenient collision with the government.

The court professed themselves desirous of assisting the Bishop in the maintenance of discipline, and in the preservation of purity and propriety of conduct among the clergy. But they could not consent to give up the power of nomination and temporal control. They therefore directed the supreme government to suggest to the Bishop the embarrassment that might be prevented by his granting licenses to the chaplains " for the performance of general duties

within the limits of his diocese, or, of their respective presidencies, instead of confining the operation of the license to a particular station; and they hoped that his lordship would, without difficulty, accede to a proposition which, without involving any sacrifice of his legitimate authority, would be productive of much convenience to the public service.

The Court allowed, however, that it did not appear convenient or reasonable that a chaplain succeeding to a particular station in consequence of the absence of his senior, should be compelled to relinquish his station on the return of such senior. The latter, they consented, should be appointed to the first beneficial vacancy after his return; but ought to lose the advantage of any vacancy which may have occurred during his voluntary absence.

The Bishop did not feel it consistent with his duty to concur altogether in these suggestions of the Honourable Court. On the 20th of October, 1820, he addressed to the Governor-general in council, a letter in reply to their remarks. In this letter he observed, in the first place, that, in this *particular* case, the "temporal interests" of any clerical servants of the company (which interests the court claimed the right of protecting) were not affected by any proceedings of the Bishop. The appointment of Mr. Baynes was probably intended to be *permanent;* and the real difficulty

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was occasioned by the *unexpected* return of Mr. Jackson, and by the attempt to restore him to a station which he had abandoned, and which, in his absence, had been regularly filled up by his junior. Secondly, with regard to the general effect of the Bishop's license, his lordship stated that such license, though it protected a chaplain in the possession of his station, never operated against his removal to one more advantageous or desirable. Such removals were constantly occurring, without difficulty or demur. The existing practice, therefore, he submitted, could not be considered as invading the rights or interests of the clergy. As to the objection to the received mode of licensing, that it interfered with *lay-patronage*, the Bishop begged to state that, by the ecclesiastical law of England, a lay-patron was *functus officio*, when he had nominated and presented his clerk. Whether his benefice were rectory, vicarage, or perpetual curacy, a clerk, when once in possession, could not be removed at the pleasure of his patron, to make way for another. Though nominated by a layman, his tenure was ecclesiastical, being by virtue of letters of institution, or license, from the bishop. Nay, a curate, nominated by an incumbent, and licensed by the bishop, could not be removed unless he himself should desire it. Benefice or curacy, in short, could be forfeited only by clerical misconduct; and respecting

such misconduct the court seemed to allow that it was the bishop's province to decide.

With respect to "the power of nomination," which the Honourable Court could not consent to abandon; the Bishop contended that this power was not brought into question by any act of his, unless, indeed, it was to be understood, that there should be a "power of nomination" to stations in which there was no vacancy. As to "temporal control" over the chaplains, it was admitted that no control over them, in the discharge of their spiritual functions, could be exercised by any person but the bishop. Control of any other description, the Bishop readily disclaimed, and, in fact, never had exerted. No clergyman in India ever found the bishop's license an obstacle to his advancement.

The Bishop further submitted, that the "inconvenient collision with the government," apprehended by the Court, never could occur while the government retained the power of nominating to vacant stations, or of creating chaplains, as they might find expedient. The right of the bishop to withhold his license, on account of the disqualification of the chaplain for spiritual functions, appeared to be left undisputed: but this right must obviously suppose the exercise of the bishop's judgment, as to the qualifications of the chaplain, to be renewed upon every removal. The bishop would, other-

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wise, be disabled from acting upon his own experience and observation of the characters and capacities of his clergy; and would be compelled to regard a chaplain, not positively disqualified to commence his spiritual functions in one station, as necessarily qualified to undertake the duties of any other.

The letters-patent, which conferred on the bishop the power of licensing the clergy, must, he further contended, be supposed to have in contemplation such licenses as are known to the Church of England; and to that Church, a license to officiate throughout a diocese, an archdeaconry, or even a rural deanery, was an instrument utterly unknown. It was also to be observed that, in the letters-patent, the persons to be licensed are ministers and chaplains of churches, chapels, and other places of worship. The license must, consequently, have reference to such places of worship, and not to districts, or presidencies, much less to the whole diocese of India. If, however, it should be thought that the language of the patent was, in this particular, ambiguous, the bishop admitted that he could not take upon himself to be the judge of its legal and technical construction; indeed, the high authorities at home, with whom he was in correspondence, wholly disclaimed such competency.

The Bishop further represented that the effi-

ciency and weight of his office must suffer a formidable reduction, if the Honourable Court, who were the patrons of the clergy, should regard with apprehension the most temperate exercise of his ordinary jurisdiction. The revocation of that order of the supreme government, which transferred to the bishop the right of originating the nomination of the clergy to particular stations, had produced an effect, such as, probably, the court were far from having contemplated. Of course, he did not presume to question their power to annul this arrangement; but, nevertheless, he could not forbear to deprecate interference in cases where the rights of the court were not essentially and manifestly involved. He begged to intimate his satisfaction at the views of the Court expressed in their concluding paragraph. Had the matter been thus understood at Bombay, he would have been spared the pain of this explanation.

The Bishop concluded by an urgent application to the supreme government for a more ample supply of chaplains. The existing deficiency was such as to deprive a large portion of the European community of religious instruction, divine worship, and the administration of the sacraments,—to augment the difficulty of a regular and legal celebration of marriages,—and to threaten permanent injury to the cause of order, religion, and morality in India.

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For the reasons stated in this letter, the Bishop felt himself bound to adhere to the practice he had established of licensing every chaplain to a particular station, on the nomination of the local government being notified officially to himself, or to the archdeacon of the respective presidency. He inserted, however, in the body of the license, "or to such other station within the diocese to which he shall be removed with our consent, to be endorsed hereon [1]." And it is stated by his secretary and registrar, Mr. Abbott, that his chief reason for confining a chaplain to a particular station, and not permitting him to be removed without his consent, was, not only to secure to the station all the ecclesiastical advantages connected with it, but to compel the permanent residence of the minister [2]. If the chaplain were afterwards removed, or succeeded to another station, he invariably indorsed his license with the words, "removed with our consent," which he always signed: nor did he ever allow a chaplain to be absent from his duty, so as to

[1] Vide archbishop Wake's directions to the bishops of his province, cited in Burn's Eccl. Law.—Art. 11. That in licenses to be granted to persons to serve any cure, you cause to be inserted, after the mention of the particular cure provided for by such licenses, a clause to this effect, "*or in any other parish within the diocese to which such curate shall remove with the consent of the bishop.*"

[2] In his Practical Analysis, p. 59, 60.

interfere with the regular service on Sundays, without permission, except in cases of sickness, or other unavoidable necessity.

The same gentleman adds, that after the arrival of bishop Heber, that prelate, if the station had no proper church, added for some places, the term *district* to that of *station*, in the license, as being of a less restricted import. The reasons alleged by him for these alterations were, that the chaplains, by being licensed to districts as well as stations, would be at liberty to make visitations to a certain extent; and to preach on alternate or stated Sundays at different places within the circuit of their appointments, instead of confining their ministrations and services all the year to one part only.

The three following letters to Mr. Ward will here furnish a seasonable relief to the reader in the midst of severer matter, though the second of them relates to a melancholy occurrence, by which the Bishop was profoundly affected.

Calcutta, October 9, 1817.

My dear Friend,

I wrote to you about a month ago, since which nothing of any importance to ourselves has occurred; unless, indeed, it be that my whole family have preserved their health thus far, during one of the most sickly seasons ever remembered: and a negation of sickness ought

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certainly to be considered and acknowledged as a positive good, even in healthier seasons and climes. The natives have been the great sufferers: the cholera morbus broke out amongst them about a month since, and in the city and suburbs they died at the rate of 250 per day. The government very properly instructed our medical people to inquire into the cause of the disease and to endeavour to arrest its progress. Many causes have been assigned, but it yields very easily to medicine, and the native doctors have been taught how to treat it: the deaths are now about thirty per day, I mean of those, who are afflicted with this particular disease. But the Brahmins are never at a loss for expedients: they instantly set up a new goddess, the Lady Cholera, (for such is the literal translation of the idol's name) within two miles of this house, to which all the people were immediately to carry their offerings to avert her anger: some thousands went every day, and several died on the road. But this was not enough; it was intimated from the neighbouring temple of Kali, that her claims must be remembered, or her vengeance would be felt; and Kali is the most inexorable of demons, so that the notice had due effect. As these tricks were found to be so lucrative, a woman took upon herself to give out that she was an incarnation or avatur of Kali; and accordingly she took her station across the

river, and was beginning to act her part tolerably well, attended by her little priestess girl; when the magistrate of police, thinking that this was really no part of the *ancient religion,* but actually a new kind of fraud, and no better than English swindling, sent the native officers to seize her; they at first approached her with some hesitation; but finding that her gestures and menaces were not followed by instant death, they brought her to the magistrate, who, to her great astonishment sent her for six months to the house of correction, and to hard labour. An account of the commitment was published in the newspapers, which the natives read; and it has not excited the smallest commotion; though I dare say there are people at home who would suppose that this was a most dangerous step. But we are improving in these matters; hitherto we have treated these abominable superstitions with more respect than the natives do themselves. So much for cholera morbus and the Brahmins. CHAP. XV. 1818.

You frequently express a desire to know what we are about here, and how I pass my time. I sometimes rise at five in the morning, and mount my horse: but not always, as I am by no means certain that it agrees with me: it generally leaves me languid for the whole day. Otherwise I rise at six; frequently bathe: then we meet in the chapel at a quarter past eight; breakfast; and at nine I am in my library, when

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I sit down to business or books. About this time, and before twelve, somebody generally calls, principally strangers recently arrived; sometimes four or five in a morning, so as to leave me but a small residue of time. At two precisely, tiffin (not a hot dinner, as is usual, but cakes, fruit, &c.) from half past two to a quarter before six, books and business again; when the carriage is at the door, and we take our exercise till seven; then dress, and dine at a quarter past seven. At a quarter past eight we come up stairs, take our tea in the verandah, and converse; at half-past nine go into the chapel, and immediately afterwards retire. This is the regular and ordinary routine on week days. The exceptions are, that now and then I go out at half-past nine to return the calls of a few of the most considerable persons who have visited me; and that, instead of dining with our own family alone, we sometimes dine out, or have company at home. My clergy dine with me once in the fortnight, and once in the month we give an entertainment to about forty persons, so as to include every body in the course of the year, and some few families twice. I believe this is a history of the most regular life in Calcutta.

Yours, ever affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

Calcutta, December 9, 1817. 1818.

My dear Friend,

Within these few days I have received your letter of the 17th of June, of the present year; and by the same ship I had the mournful intelligence of the death of my old friend and patron Dr. Pretyman: it has given a great shock to my feelings and to Mrs. Middleton's. How many dormant associations has it awakened! I was closely connected with him during the best years of my life, from twenty-five to thirty-nine years of age; and possessed his unbounded confidence. My lamented friend thought that I was capable of something, and he may be said to have fostered such powers as God may have given me. With this train of feelings I may be supposed to have received the tidings with some emotion; they plunged me, indeed, into an abyss of reflections from which I have have scarcely yet emerged. Ten years ago the family consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Pretyman, and four fine children; one of them my *extraordinary* pupil! and all that remain of these six persons are a son and a daughter, the latter in a precarious state of health! I have never known so fine and flourishing a family so swept away. You, my friend, have no personal interest in this affair; but I am sure you will enter into my feelings. I had received a

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letter from Dr. Pretyman written about six weeks before his death.

My time is so divided amidst a multiplicity of objects, that I know not which way to turn. I had lately a visit from a Greek, just arrived from Mount Sinai: he brought me a letter of recommendation from our consul-general in Egypt. Another Greek priest has been with me, who is going to Cairo and Constantinople: he is a very worthy man, and I have been writing in his behalf to the patriarch of Constantinople an epistle in Greek: I never conjectured some years ago to what use my Greek might be turned.

Pray present our united best wishes, to all the family, and believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

Calcutta, March 5, 1818.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have been much shocked to hear of the death of my old and valued friend Dr. Sayers of Norwich, on the 6th of August last. With the exception of yourself, there was no man with whom I have lived in habits of so much intimacy: for seven years of our lives we supped together, if nothing particular prevented it, once in every week; we read the same books for the most part, as our pursuits were much the same;

and I believe that we felt for each other a mutual esteem and regard. Some of the happiest hours of my life were passed in his society; and at this distance, where I meet with nothing congenial, the recollection is more deeply felt. I feel that these events loosen the bands of life, and no doubt are mercifully intended to prepare us for our own departure. In the division of his property he has not overlooked any of his friends, and has left me fifty guineas; and as I should wish to apply the same to some memorial of my departed friend, I entreat you to order for me a handsome gold watch, on the back of which should be engraved a mitre, and in the inside,

ΣΑΕΡΣΙΟΥ
ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ.

You often wish to know what I am about, and I never fail to tell you, when any thing occurs. This is Lent, and I bring together the children of the several schools to be catechised in the cathedral. Yesterday there were 354, from eleven different schools: most of them are well acquainted with an easy exposition of the catechism: I never saw a more gratifying spectacle: on Wednesday next I mean to catechise them myself. On Sunday I preached from Rom. xiv. 7, 8, and I hope to preach again on Sunday se'nnight, and also on Easter day.

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

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Towards the end of the preceding year (1817), the Bishop had to address the India Board, on a subject involving the interests of his invaluable assistant the archdeacon of Bombay. It will be recollected that this gentleman, by the Bishop's invitation, left Bombay in company with his lordship on the 17th of September, 1816; and, after officiating as his chaplain at Cananore, attended him to Calcutta. He was there detained by accidental circumstances until the 19th of March following; and finally re-landed in Bombay on the first of May, 1817. It was not till a month after his return, that he learned, with great astonishment, from his agents, that the civil paymaster had withheld the regular monthly issues of his salary. On receiving this information, he immediately addressed the government on the subject, stating his reasons why he did not consider himself subject to a regulation, framed with an exclusive regard to the civil servants of the Company, and having no reference to his situation or duties. In the official answer he was informed that "the right honourable the Governor-in-council would direct the immediate payment of his salary, if he would engage to refund the amount, if disapproved by the Court of Directors, to which authority he was necessitated to submit the question." Upon this, some correspondence followed with the government of Bombay, which

the archdeacon submitted officially to the Bishop; regretting, that the government had had not explicitly informed him of the grounds of the detention of his salary. Those grounds, however, he understood to be; *first*, that by a recent regulation of the East India Company, all their servants are liable to forfeiture of a certain portion of their salary, if absent from their stations more than six weeks: *secondly*, that, during the absence of the archdeacon from Bombay, he was not in "the exercise of his functions," as required by the Act of Parliament.

It should here be stated, that when the Bishop invited the archdeacon to accompany him on the remainder of his visitation, and to stay with him a short time at Calcutta, he gave notice of this intended arrangement to the Governor-in-council, and requested that all official correspondence, (relating to the duties or concerns of the clergy, which, in the absence of the Bishop, is directed to be carried on with the archdeacon,) might, during his absence, be carried on with the senior chaplain, to whom the Bishop would give the necessary instructions for that purpose. To this communication, the government replied, that they "had no objection to the archdeacon accompanying the Bishop, and that the commander of the *Aurora* had been instructed to receive and suitably to accommodate his lord-

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ship and family and archdeacon Barnes, with a passage to Calcutta."

On receiving the communication of the archdeacon, the Bishop immediately prepared a statement of the case to be transmitted, by the first opportunity, to the Board of Commissioners for India. In this paper, (dated 18th of Nov. 1817), he submits, *first*, that the archdeacons can no more be considered as liable to the regulations, by which the Company bind their *covenanted* servants, than the judges of his majesty's courts of law, to whom such regulations had never been understood to apply: and, *secondly*, that the Act of Parliament must be interpreted in connection with his Majesty's letters-patent, and also with the ecclesiastical law of England. By the act, the archdeacon's salary is to commence from his taking upon him the execution of his office, and to be continued to him so long as he should exercise the functions of his office within the limits of the Company's charter, and no longer. By the letters-patent, the archdeacons are directed, "within their respective archdeaconries," to be assisting to the Bishop, according to the duties of an archdeacon, by the ecclesiastical law of England. The Bishop conceived it to be the intention of the act, that the salaries of the persons in question should not be continued after they had resigned their functions, or gone

beyond the limits of the Company's charter; that the *jurisdiction*, not the *residence* of the archdeacons, was confined to the limits of their respective archdeaconries; and that nothing could be further from the intentions of the legislature, than to declare what should be taken as *legal residence*. In England, an archdeacon was not confined within the limits of his archdeaconry, nor even within the diocese of his bishop; and, if he should neglect the functions of his appointment, he would be responsible for such neglect to his diocesan. In India, it is true the archdeacons could not be effectually "*assisting to the bishop*," without being *generally* resident at the respective presidencies: still it could hardly be correct to suppose that the act enjoins the strict and perpetual residence of the archdeacons as the indispensable condition of their receiving their salaries.

It was further to be recollected, that this was not a case of absence without any pretence of permission or authority. The archdeacon, in this instance, by the Bishop's desire, accompanied him on a part of his visitation: and this at a time when no provision had been made for allowing him a chaplain. He accordingly conceived that it was competent to him to retain any clergyman in that capacity so long as his visitation should last, though he thought it respectful and courteous to the Bombay govern-

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ment, to intimate to them his intention with respect to Mr. Barnes. Archdeacon Loring had attended him on a former part of his visitation, without prejudice to his salary: and he had understood that the supreme government saw no difficulty whatever in the case of archdeacon Barnes. He concluded by stating that, though the principle would not be affected by it, it was just to notice that the stay of the archdeacon at Calcutta was considerably lengthened by an accident which befel the ship in which he was to have sailed for Bombay.

It was subsequently determined by the authorities in England, that the Bombay government, in suspending the salary of archdeacon Barnes, had made an erroneous application of a rule of the civil service to the case of an ecclesiastical officer, not a covenanted servant of the Company, and receiving his salary under the special provision of an Act of Parliament; and that, accordingly, the archdeacon was fully entitled not only to the salary which should have been regularly paid during his absence from Bombay; but to such interest also, at the rate of six per cent, as had accrued during its suspension.

CHAPTER XVI.

Deficiencies of the Bishop's salary for charitable purposes increased by the annexation of Ceylon—Hindoo College—Some remarks of the Bishop on the means of propagating the Gospel in India—His wish to have European or half-caste missionaries placed at the Bishop's disposal—Sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte—Censure of a chaplain in Calcutta—Select vestry at the Cathedral—Extracts of letter to Mr. T. Courtenay—Correspondence with the Bengal Government on leave of absence to be granted to Chaplains.

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WHILE the Bishop was toiling onward, though "hard and rare," his mind was perpetually kept upon the stretch, by the comprehension and distinctness of his views respecting the good that might be effected in India by a prelate whose heart was warm, and his hands unfettered. "Calcutta," he remarks, in a letter to Mr. Norris[1], "considering that it has risen from two or three miserable fishing villages within 120 years, is probably the most surprising place in the world: nor would there be a more important

[1] Dated March 28, 1818.

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or more efficient station in the whole Church of Christ, than the bishopric, if it had been put upon the footing of a bishopric in England. It is so only in theory; the practice destroys the similitude." The narrow limits of his income were still more deeply felt by him than the restrictions on his authority, since they deplorably abridged his power to advance the cause which he was appointed to maintain and to represent. "What," he exclaims, "might *not* a bishop have done in the East, with adequate resources!" And what, comparatively, *could* a bishop do in the East without them?—in the East, where piety and munificence are almost synonymous?—in the East, where the cause of religion would be disgraced and ruined by the very suspicion of parsimony? In India, go where he will, a bishop *must* give money liberally, or else expose the Gospel which he preaches, not merely to disadvantage, but to utter and ruinous contempt: and when he becomes the patron of any religious or charitable undertaking, he is expected to support it, not so much in the character of a subscriber, as in that of a *founder*. Accordingly, the contributions of Doctor Middleton towards such objects, from his own income, in the course of his first visitation alone, amounted to no less than 500*l.*; and nothing, probably, but an indispensable regard to prudence kept them even within these limits: for

never did a Christian prelate carry out with him, to his holy mission, a more truly generous or disinterested soul. To him, therefore, it must have been a heavy trial, to find his hands straitened, while his heart was expanding to the full extent of the exigencies constantly before him; to see that every Brahmin of exalted rank was a sort of general almoner, often with noble funds at his disposal, while the minister of God's revealed truth was frequently compelled to scant his bounty, and to make his charities a business of anxious, and, apparently, of sordid calculation. It should here, however, be mentioned, that the wise munificence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, proved a most blessed auxiliary to his zeal and liberality. Their votes of credit came nobly in aid of all his designs for the advancement of the Christain cause: and without them, it would have been scarcely possible for him to take that prominent part, in benevolent and religious enterprise, which so well becomes a father of the Christian Church.

It was this consideration which, at first, caused him to view, with very qualified satisfaction, the addition of Ceylon to the diocese of Calcutta; a measure which had, for some time, been in contemplation, and of which he received notice shortly after this period. In many respects, as we have seen, that island was in a condition eminently promising for the reception of the

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Gospel. It was observed to the Bishop when he was there, that in Ceylon the cause of Christianity seemed to want little but money to secure its success. But then, it should be remembered, that the extent of the country is nearly equal to that of Ireland, a circumstance which alone would make it a fit station for a distinct bishopric: and then, the order of council, which extended his jurisdiction to it, provided no addition whatever to his salary, and thus left him destitute of the means by which alone his connection with the country could be rendered solidly or permanently beneficial. "You augur great good," he says, in a letter[1] to archdeacon Barnes, "from the proposed extension of my authority to Colombo. I once hoped it might be the case; but I am now of a different opinion. The warrant has reached me: it merely gives me jurisdiction as in India, but without any influence, or any visible means of doing good: I have neither patronage nor salary. The crown has appointed Mr. Twisleton the first archdeacon, and, in future, the appointment is *not* to be with the Bishop. And as to any funds, out of which the Bishop might give aid to Christian undertakings, the government is merely authorised to defray expenses incurred by the Bishop during his stay in the island, in

[1] Dated April 29, 1818.

discharge of his episcopal functions; so that the Bishop will be maintained during his stay (if he does not stay longer than the government thinks necessary), but will not have a single rupee at his own disposal. As to an adequate indemnification for much additional trouble and responsibility, I never expected it. But I did hope that a small annual salary, of perhaps 500*l.* a year, would have enabled me to stand prominent in the building of churches, schools, &c. without which the cause of Christianity must suffer, in the very person who is professedly sent thither to promote it." This evil, on being forcibly represented to his Majesty's government by the Bishop, was, shortly afterwards, partially remedied by an order from Earl Bathurst, the secretary of state for the colonies, to place 300*l.* at the disposal of the Bishop, for religious and charitable purposes, whenever he should be on the island, in the course of his episcopal visitation.

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In the midst of his multiplied discouragements, however, his sagacity was in constant exercise upon the state of the public mind and feeling among the people of Hindostan. In his correspondence he is perpetually adverting to this momentous topic. His remarks on the Hindoo college, the establishment and nature of which has already been described in his letter to Mr. Courtenay, will be read with profound interest, as conveying his deliberate persuasion relative to

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the proper mode of bringing the natives into a state of intellectual manhood.

"There is nothing," he says [1], "in the Hindoo college unfavourable to Christianity; quite otherwise. I wish it success, and gave to it five hundred rupees, (50*l.*) Sir E. East and Mr. Harrington were the only other European subscribers; and the appearance of my name in the business was a question of doubtful expediency. The object has been to leave it as much as possible to the Hindoos, that it may seem to be their own work. Of themselves, however, they can do nothing. A military officer is the superintendent and director of the whole machine; and though the natives do not read our Scriptures, they learn English in Murray's Grammar, &c. and read moral English books. So far from shewing any hostility to the Christian cause, the superintendent is a most zealous advocate for conversion: and the diffusion of English knowledge, though not avowedly religious, all tends that way; *more effectually, in my opinion, than direct preaching.* The people, at present, are in a state of childhood. Argument and expostulation are thrown away upon them; they must first get ideas. The college, however, is most feebly supported by the natives. They do not see much use in it. *They get no interest for their*

[1] In a letter to Mr. Norris, dated March 28, 1818.

money! It is not that they consider it as tending to undermine their superstition; this seems not to enter into their thoughts. But they cannot comprehend what is the use of knowledge which is not lucrative; and as for public spirit, it is a thing foreign to their constitution. Indeed, if they had any thing of that sort about them, we should not be lords of India. Every man here takes care of himself, not as a member of society, but as an insulated individual. Selfishness, littleness, and imbecility, are their prominent characteristics. Their utmost efforts of wisdom are but a short-sighted cunning. Humanity can hardly be at a lower ebb. In this state of things, the grand desideratum is an expansion of mind, a developement of the faculties, new modes of thinking; and, according to my views, this must be brought about before Christianity can make its way. The teaching of English is the best thing that can be done. The commonest of English books, in which you and I can see nothing interesting, conveys to these people ideas which had never entered their minds. It takes them into a new world. But the difficulty is to produce the previous excitement. . . . . Besides the Hindoo college, we have now a school-book society, the object of which is to furnish to all in the country better books of instruction than they have hitherto possessed. This also has a leaning towards Christianity,

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though all books inculcating Christianity are professedly excluded. In this society there are many Mussulmans and Hindoos, and I think it will do good. I do not belong to it; indeed, in all these cases, I am rather an awkward person to deal with. The principal mover in the business is a friend of mine; but he thought I could not, without giving alarm, appear in the undertaking *at the outset;* and, on the other hand, when the society had been formed, and the names of members had been published all over India, mine not appearing, I did not think that I could very decently come forward afterwards. Some offence was taken at my declining it; but I could not help it. When I cannot appear in my proper place, it is better, upon the whole, not to appear at all."

It will be observed that, in the former part of the above extract, the Bishop iterates his belief that the friends of Christianity have much less to fear than is usually supposed from the sensitive alarms and jealousies of the Hindoo. This belief is repeatedly expressed by him in various parts of his correspondence: and in confirmation of it, it may not be unseasonable to produce in this place, the following very curious incident, subsequently communicated to Dr. Barnes [1], archdeacon of Bombay, by a gentleman in high station in the

[1] Dated July, 1819.

Deccan, and strongly illustrative of the views of the Bishop:

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"The Hindoos are splitting into schismatic modes of religious belief every day. Their original mode of worship is almost totally unknown; and free-thinking is, perhaps, become more common among them, than among Europeans, in regard to their established faith. About a month ago, the family-priest (Goorroo) of an ancient family, set up an image of the epidemic, (the cholera) to render its ravages less severe in the town of Lasore, where it had, for three days, carried off from fifty to sixty persons. The violence of the distemper generally abates in a few days; and this is not only known to Europeans, but to all the natives. He, therefore, calculated that its strength being spent, and his god set up, he would have the merit of having driven it out of the town. But the mortality, though not so great as at first, continued heavy; and, on the sixth or seventh day, his own son fell a victim to the disease. This blow drove the old priest nearly distracted: for, to the mortification of losing his own son, was added the certain loss of his own reputation for sanctity. In his irritation of mind, he dashed the god to pieces, and scattered the fragments in every direction. The epidemic, having run its course, almost entirely disappeared; and the story is gone over the whole country that the

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way of rooting it out of any place is for the priest to break to pieces the gods made to it."

Nothing, undoubtedly, could be more injudicious or absurd than to anticipate, from circumstances like this, a speedy subversion of the silly and impious mythology of India. The incident betrays an imbecility of mind so deplorable, as to render this degraded people scarcely fit for the immediate reception of a masculine system of faith. Still it may reasonably be considered as indicating, that their religious prejudices are by no means so violently irritable, as we sometimes hear them represented by persons who have lived among them. It may, therefore, like other signs of the times, be placed in opposition to that spirit of despondency, which numbers the conversion of the heathen among impossible and chimerical attempts.

Amidst the various and anxious labours of his situation, the Bishop derived great consolation and support from the change which time and circumstances thus appeared to be working in the mind of the natives; and from the reflection that, on the whole, a mighty, though perhaps somewhat irregular, movement was perceptible, whose ultimate tendency was towards the establishment of Christianity, and the overthrow of the foul and gigantic idolatries of Hindostan. This movement might indeed resemble

the vast and secular variations of the heavenly trajectories, and, like them, the cycle might require an awful lapse of ages for its accomplishment. In the interval, however, a noble exercise would be afforded to the faith and the charity of the Christian world; and men would be taught, by a salutary discipline, to abstain from imputing *slackness* to the operations of Omnipotence, and from estimating the march of Providence by the puny measurements of mere human calculation.

In a continuation of the same letter, from which the above passages are taken, the Bishop adverts to the undertakings and projects of various denominations of Christians in India, and more especially at Calcutta; and he adds, "It is a prevailing notion here, that we should know but of two classes in India, viz. Christians and Pagans. Now, in such a state of things, what can I, or any man, do? When I arrived, the Baptist missionaries had been seventeen or eighteen years established, and were in other parts of these provinces: and subsequently, I have had enough to do in attending to my immediate and primary duties. I sent a letter almost two years ago, to the Board of Control, proposing salaries of from 200*l.* to 400*l.* a year each, to not more than four persons, Europeans or half-castes, ordained by the Bishop, and capable of preaching to the natives, Portuguese,

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half-castes, &c. in the languages of the country. These would not have been precisely missionaries; but they would have brought into the communion of our Church, a large class of stragglers at the several presidencies, *from whom the best missionaries might have emanated*, and who would have been *missionaries of the Church*. But I was assured, in reply, that there was no reason to believe that the Company would accede to such a measure if it were proposed; of course it dropped! I also wrote to the archbishop, as president of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, recommending, if possible, that missionaries should be sent to Bengal; and I am daily expecting his answer: but nothing I suppose can be done. Thus, according to appearances, the future Christianity of India, will be that of almost every denomination, except that of the Church of England. And, as I neither use instruments of my own, nor consent to employ such as are within my reach, I am liable to be considered, and no doubt am represented, as indifferent in a cause in which I ought to take the lead. Surely this is a trying situation; I almost sink under it. I endeavour to act, and pray God to direct me, in all things, for the best; but seem as a man turned adrift on the ocean, without oars or sails."

It would be inconsistent with the plan of this memoir minutely to enumerate and describe

the various undertakings of a religious character, which seemed to indicate that a spirit had descended to trouble the stagnant waters of the ancient superstition, and to infuse into them a principle of health and life. Gigantic schemes, the Bishop observes, were every where afloat. Every thing was conceived on a large and commanding scale. In India nothing petty or dwarfish could have the slightest chance of success. His great and incessant anxiety, therefore, was, that something of the same spirit should be caught by the Church at home: and that the efforts made by societies connected with her should, if possible, correspond with the same colossal and elevated standard. Where every thing appeared grand and magnificent in its design, nothing could be more pernicious, or more discreditable than a system of timorous frugality on the part of the episcopal establishment, which ought, unquestionably, to be foremost in the career of Christian enterprise. To this effect were all his representations, both to his personal friends, and to the great ecclesiastical authorities in England, with whom he was in active and unwearied correspondence. The southern missions, more especially, were objects of his unceasing anxiety. That of Tranquebar, in particular, was, as we have seen, a source of perpetual distress and agitation to him. It was hastening to decay, and, apparently, to utter extinction;

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and he was condemned to hear, with inexpressible pain, the reproaches which were unsparingly levelled against the supineness, or the parsimony, which could endure to look upon the ruin of a cause, once so nobly and liberally supported by the Church of England. The sequel, however, will shew, that all this anxiety and labour were not without their effect or their reward.

The tenor of Bishop Middleton's correspondence has already shewn how frequently his thoughts were wandering towards England. The following letter will prove that this longing after his native land was no selfish emotion, but that it was prompted by his profound attachment to her as the abode of freedom, of literature, and of piety. He is speaking of an event, the intelligence of which had recently reached Calcutta, and which had made every house in the empire, a house of mourning,—the death of the Princess Charlotte, and, with her, of the infant hope of the British throne.

TO S. S. WARD, ESQ.

Calcutta, June 1, 1818.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I received your interesting letter of November 9, about six weeks since. We are sadly backward in intelligence from London; no ship has yet arrived which sailed since the new year commenced. It is indeed melancholy to reflect what

changes may have taken place deeply affecting our interests and happiness, and of which we are here totally ignorant for five or six months together. The news of the death of the poor Princess had reached us overland; it quite overwhelmed me. I sincerely lament for my country, my love of which neither time nor distance will, I believe, ever abate. My residence here serves but to shew me how little and how wretched is every thing around me compared with what exists in England. Before I can lose a particle of my interest in England, I must learn to think that I have hitherto set too high a value on religion, literature, liberty, the arts, the common conveniences, and even the charities of life; for here they all feel the climate.

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You tell me of your delicious tour;; six cathedrals in twelve days! In that short time, I verily believe, you saw more, which is capable of conveying delight to taste and benevolence, than twelve months' travelling would have shewn you in India. As to architecture, I do not expect to see here any thing approaching to Winchester cathedral. I have not yet seen the great Mosque at Delhi, nor the Mausoleum at Afra; but I have a pretty good idea of them: as to the Hindoo architecture, I have seen all of any note, and it is barbarous. The Mussulman is no doubt far superior: a mosque is seldom ugly; but I am not aware that any mosque in the world at all

CHAP. XVI. approaches in point of size to the English cathedrals.

1818. We have had this year an unusually hot season; some of the older residents have found it as much as they could bear. The thermometer within doors has seldom been more than 92° to 94°, but this is not an accurate criterion of our feelings. Mrs. Middleton suffers from extreme languor: for myself, I thank God, I have hitherto escaped every thing beyond trifling indisposition.

May God bless you, my friend,

Ever yours affectionately,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

The Sunday after the arrival of the news, he addressed the community of Calcutta on this calamitous event, from the pulpit of his cathedral. The church was richly hung with the deepest mourning, and was crowded to a degree, unknown before or since, except, perhaps, on the occasion of his own funeral. The depth of his own feelings was strongly indicated by his aspect and demeanour on entering the pulpit, and they were most powerfully communicated to his whole congregation. The text which he chose was singularly and awfully appropriate:—*In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children*[1]: and the effect of these words alone was, to melt the female

[1] Gen. iii. 16.

portion of his audience into tears. He commenced his address with a masterly and forcible discussion of the passage, which rivetted the hearers in almost breathless attention; and then, after a lengthened pause, he opened his application of it to the melancholy case before him. The effect produced by the tender expression of his commanding countenance, and the softened intonation of his powerful voice, has been warmly described by those who witnessed the scene; and was afterwards attested by the general anxiety for the publication of his sermon. With this wish, it is greatly to be regretted that he did not think proper to comply. CHAP. XVI. 1818.

Hitherto, whatever opposition or discouragement the Bishop might have experienced from some quarters in the exercise of his authority, the clergy had always shewn the highest respect for his office and person, and readily acquiesced in his arrangements. It was, therefore, with considerable pain that the Bishop felt himself imperiously called on to notice the grossly disrespectful conduct of one of the chaplains of the cathedral. This occurrence itself, and the circumstance out of which it arose, shall be related in his own words, extracted from his correspondece with archdeacon Barnes, in a letter, dated Calcutta, June 11, 1818. The affair is important as contributing to the completeness

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of our own insight into the peculiar embarrassments of his situation.

. . . . . "A more important discussion has arisen here: the two chaplains of the cathedral have long been on bad terms; and this want of cordiality has been much increased by mixing up itself with the proceedings of what is called the select-vestry. On Easter Monday last, the day of electing what we call churchwardens, the senior chaplain espoused the cause of a new candidate; but some how or other (the history is a very long one) a majority of the old vestry re-elected themselves. This led to a protest on the part of the senior chaplain; and at last, both parties complained to the government, who sent me their letters, and desired my sentiments generally on the whole affair. This led me to examine all the records from the beginning, (about thirty years ago) and my judgment upon the case, which was sent in about ten days since, is, that the select vestry was not originally so constituted as in any way whatever to represent the inhabitants of Calcutta; that, even according to its own constitution, the election of last Easter was bad; but that in the present circumstances of the Church, *i. e.* since the erection of the bishopric, churchwardens, in their church capacity, as managers of its concerns, are superfluous, inconvenient, and contrary to

analogy and law. I propose, that the 'archdeacons and chaplains,' in subordination to the bishop, should manage all the concerns of the cathedral: and that, as to the management of the charity funds and the poor, we should have 'guardians of the poor and overseers,' according to a plan which I offer to arrange. At any rate, it is high time to put an end to discussions and broils within the very walls of the church, and that the bishop should be enabled to give his orders in his own cathedral, without having to wait for the concurrence of persons calling themselves churchwardens and sidesmen, who, after all, are personages quite unknown to the law. I know not at present what turn the business will take; but I consider my ground to be good. My statement on the subject is very full, amounting to thirty-one pages in folio. Partly out of this business has grown another, still more to be regretted. One of the clergy, indignant at my supposed interference, when in truth I had as yet taken no part in the matter, spoke of me, in the hearing of three persons, words which, whether applied to my person or my office, were shameful; and, as I found, were publicly known. I should have been justified in proceeding to greater severity; however, I hope that a suitable proceeding will teach him to be more cautious. On Tuesday last, I convened a meeting of the archdeacon and clergy, and I

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gave him, in their presence, a very strong, and not a very brief admonition: the tenor of which I hope will be known in Calcutta as generally as the cause of it. Any thing less than this would have been a dereliction of my duty; and I have but barely satisfied it in stopping here. These things, as you may suppose, create a sensation; but I hope that good will come of them. . . . . My only motive for writing a syllable on the subject is, that, if you hear half the story, you may at least know the rest."

With regard to the discussions alluded to by the Bishop in this letter, relative to the rights of the body calling themselves the select-vestry, it may be convenient to mention here, that on the 8th of January in the following year (1819), a letter was addressed to the members of that body, by order of the Governor-general-in-council, relative to the points in dispute. In this document it was stated, that from representations laid before the government, it appeared that the church of St. John was originally undertaken with the sanction of government, and nearly rebuilt by subscription from individuals: but that government had, subsequently, expended a considerable sum for the completion of it: that it was difficult, from these circumstances, to conclude whether or not the government had the power of constituting the church a cathedral, in the legal acceptation of the word,

or to determine in what precise individuals the legal title was then vested. Under these difficulties, the government were satisfied that the select-vestry would cheerfully concur in such an arrangement as might be necessary to ensure the effective and decorous performance of the Bishop's sacred functions; and, with that view, his lordship in council recommended *that the Bishop be considered to possess the sole and exclusive direction as to all that regarded the performance of divine service, or arrangements for general convenience within the church.* With regard to the constitution and election of the vestry, the government was disposed to the opinion that, as Calcutta was not a regular parish, the British laws concerning parochial arrangements were inapplicable in the present case. It was further to be collected from the information before the government, that the appointment of church officers has generally been made under the immediate authority of the body denominated the select-vestry; and that the *claims* of the senior chaplain to any such patronage, are founded on a misconstruction of the indulgence occasionally exercised, in courtesy towards him, on the part of the vestry. It was, moreover, thought expedient that the vestry, (having been long recognised by government, and having become, in fact, trustees for several public charities), should remain on its

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present footing, till the authorities in England should judge it proper to interfere; that, in the meantime, the privilege of election should continue, as before, in the remaining members of the body itself; and that the concerns of the church should proceed according to the usage prevailing previously to the establishment of the episcopal dignity at Calcutta, excepting the arrangements, already stated, for the satisfaction and accommodation of the bishop. It would remain with his Excellency-in-council to apply for such early instructions from England, as would define the powers of the vestry; and, by rendering the episcopal situation more correspondent to the rules in force at home, would place it beyond the hazard of future misapprehension or dispute.

Lastly, although it was not the intention of the government to pass any formal judgment on the appeals which had been separately addressed to them on the part of the senior chaplain and of the other members of the select-vestry, yet his Excellency-in-council could not refrain from expressing the regret with which he had noticed the indecorous language into which some of the members were stated to have been betrayed. It was hoped and expected, that the government would not have again to animadvert on such proceedings: but in the event of their recurrence between the chaplains (which cannot too much

be deprecated,) his Excellency-in-council would be compelled to mark his displeasure, by removing from the presidency, the clergyman with whom they might be proved to have originated.

Conformably to the tenor of this paper, the whole case was subsequently sent to England in order to a final decision: but it is believed that the matters in question have never been brought to a determination, and that the Bishop of Calcutta is still without a church which may, with legal propriety, be called his cathedral.

It is gratifying to collect from the Bishop's correspondence that light and comfort were perpetually breaking in to cheer him in his various and anxious labours. In a letter to Mr. Courtenay, dated August 22, 1818, he says,—

"Nothing of any great interest has happened here lately. Lord Hastings has been with us rather more than a month, and so far as common foresight can judge, can never again have occasion to leave Calcutta, while he is Governor-general of India. We shall be accordingly interested here, to know what is said in England, and especially in Parliament, respecting his administration. We have here, I believe, but one opinion; and that is, that there has been nothing so splendid in the annals of the country. We have nothing now left us to perform, but to civilize and improve the people; and it is time that we begin. We are indeed beginning; and

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very perceptible changes are taking place: the natives are evidently approximating to us. This morning I attended a meeting for the formation of a leper asylum, an institution exceedingly wanted: the disease is unknown among the Europeans, but among the natives it is frightfully common. On this ground we invite the natives to join us: and one of them has given us a piece of ground, and 5,000 rupees. He may, indeed, be said to be the founder of the institution. These are favourable appearances: and they are becoming much more common than they were three or four years ago. I do not despair of India, if there be not a chilling policy at home."

It may be proper to mention here that, towards the conclusion of this year, the Bishop was called upon to address the government respecting the absence of chaplains from their stations; a matter of some perplexity, arising out of that peculiarity in the condition of the clergy in India which was perpetually embarrassing the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction. It appears that, notwithstanding the transfer of the chaplains from military to ecclesiastical control, some of the clergy had absented themselves from their duties, or proceeded from one station to another, with no other authority than the sanction of the commanding-officer of the cantonment. The two following letters will

shew the just view entertained by the Bishop on this point, and the manner in which the Marquess of Hastings conceded the propriety of the Bishop exercising his own discretion with regard to applications from the clergy for leave of absence inland, not occasioning a departure from the limits of the presidency.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST NOBLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, &c. &c.

Fort William, Sept. 11, 1818.

My Lord,

Having recently had the honour of a conference with your lordship upon the bishop's right to grant to the clergy leave of absence from their respective stations, when the circumstances may seem to him to require it, I proceed, at your lordship's suggestion, to state, in writing, what are the grounds upon which I conceive that right to rest.

By sect. 52. of the Honourable Company's charter, his Majesty is empowered to grant to the bishop such ecclesiastical jurisdiction as should be thought necessary for the superintendence and good government of the ministers of the Church establishment within the limits of the Company's charter; and his Majesty was pleased to avail himself of that power in his royal letters-patent, erecting the bishopric of Calcutta, by authorising the bishop to grant

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licenses to officiate, to all ministers and chaplains of all the churches or chapels, or other places, within the said diocese, wherein divine service shall be celebrated according to the Liturgy of the Church of England: and, further, by ordaining that, all grave matters of correction, which are accustomed to be examined, according to the practice of the ecclesiastical laws of the realm of England, shall be judicially examined and proceeded in before the said bishop and his successors.

On these citations, my lord, I would be permitted to remark, that they seem to establish two points,—that the chaplains of the Honourable Company cannot exercise their functions except under the authority of the bishop's license; and that the ecclesiastical laws of England are made applicable to the clergy of this diocese.

The intended effect of licensing a clergyman, is to place him under the jurisdiction of his diocesan, and, at the same time, to give him a legal title to his cure. It renders him exclusively amenable to the bishop's authority, and makes the exercise of that authority necessary towards his removal. But this is not all: every clergyman, previously to his being licensed, takes an oath of canonical obedience to the bishop and his successors; and canonical obedience is understood to extend to all matters connected with canonical duties. I need, however, hardly suggest to your lordship that a power residing in

any other authority than that of the bishop, to grant to the clergy leave of absence, would be a power to take them for a time, out of the bishop's jurisdiction: and if residence on their cures be indispensable, as it evidently is, to the performance of their duties, such a dispensing power would make it hardly safe for a clergyman to take the oath in its present unqualified form: he could take it only with special reservations, which his diocesan, however, could not recognise, the form being fixed by law.

I infer, therefore, that the powers of the letters-patent did intend to give to the bishop as distinct and entire jurisdiction over the chaplains of the Honourable Company, as any bishop has over his clergy in England. I find not in this particular, either exception or abatement, and if I rightly recollect, the opinion of a late advocate-general, Mr. Strettell, was decided on this point.

But the case, my lord, seems not to rest upon opinion or inference. The passage last cited from the letters-patent gives the bishop cognizance in all grave matters of correction, accustomed to be examined according to the ecclesiastical laws of England.

The non-residence of the clergy, and their absence from their cures, have always been numbered among these *grave matters;* and the recent act of the 57th of the king, for enforcing

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the residence of the clergy, treats the whole question of non-residence as one of ecclesiastical cognizance, and confirms to the bishops the exclusive right of granting licenses of absence: it also directs them to proceed against any clergyman absent from his benefice without the bishop's permission. The chaplaincies in this country, it is true, are not benefices in the strictest sense: but neither are they curacies, in which the curate is responsible to the incumbent: neither are they military chaplaincies, I conceive, otherwise than as military persons, in many instances, constitute the chief part of the congregation. But whatever may be judged to be the nearest analogy, the chaplains of the Honourable Company are unquestionably *the* clergy whom the charter and the letters-patent contemplate as subject to the bishop's jurisdiction, and to whom the ecclesiastical laws of England are intended to apply.

I know not, my lord, whether it can be further necessary to state, that the right here claimed in behalf of the bishop does not, in any way whatever, interfere with the patronage of the Honourable Court of Directors. I am aware, that they consider the nomination of the chaplains to vacant stations to be a part of their patronage; and, as such, that it is to be delegated to the local governments, rather than to the bishop. Their right, therefore, will stand on the same

footing as private ecclesiastical patronage in England, where the patron presents his clerk, but does not, on this ground, claim any right to interfere in the relation which is thus established between such clergyman and his diocesan, after the former shall have been invested with his functions. The clergy of a diocese, whether presented by the crown, by chartered companies, by individuals, or collated by the bishop, fall under precisely the same jurisdiction, and enter into the same engagements. The case cannot, as I conceive, be otherwise in India. The chaplain is nominated by the government to a vacant station, but being approved and licensed by the bishop, he remains under that jurisdiction, in all canonical matters, until he shall quit his cure. With the bishop rests all the responsibility connected with the conduct of the clergy; and with the same authority, therefore, it seems reasonable that the power of excusing them from their duties should also reside. Your lordship may be assured, that on this ground only should I be disposed to urge my claim. I am not contending for a right, which is exercised with any gratification: to grant leave of absence in cases where it can be properly asked, confers no favour, and to refuse it in others, is but an invidious discharge of duty. It seems right, however, that the bishop should announce to the government, as I have regularly done, every leave of absence he

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may grant. It is fit that your lordship in council should be satisfied, that no clergyman is absent from his station without permission; and the payment of his salary renders it indispensable that arrangements should be made accordingly.

I have, &c. &c.

T. F. CALCUTTA.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

Council Chamber, November 13, 1818.

MY LORD,

By direction of the most noble the Governor-general in council, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter, under date the 11th of September, stating the grounds on which you consider the Bishop of Calcutta to be entitled to grant leave of absence to the clergy of the diocese at his own discretion. The Governor-general in council commands me to offer his acknowledgments to your lordship for the explanations detailed in your letter: but it has occurred to his Excellency in council, that the discussion of the extent of the bishop's power, with regard to the privilege in question, may be satisfactorily obviated by the adoption of the arrangement hereafter described. According to the military regulations of the government, it is within the competence of the Commander-in-chief, to grant to officers leave of absence, not

involving a departure from the limits of the presidency to which they belong, without reference to the authority of the government; but in instances of applications to proceed, on leave of absence, by sea, or otherwise, beyond those limits, the sanction of the Governor-general in council must be previously obtained. The necessity of the maintenance of this principle, is too obvious to require illustration; and his Excellency in council is of opinion, that the analogy may be properly applied to the cases of the clergy under similar circumstances. His Excellency in council therefore proposes that your lordship should exercise your own discretion, with regard to applications which the clergy of your diocese may make for leave of absence inland, not occasioning a departure from the limits of the presidency under which they serve, and that applications to proceed to sea, or to quit the limits above-mentioned, be referred for the sanction of the government.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

C. LUSHINGTON,
Secretary to Government.

This chapter will be properly concluded with a letter of the Bishop's to Mr. Ward; in which he expresses himself indeed somewhat more freely than usual to that gentleman, respecting the solicitude and toil incident to his office; but

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still in such a manner as to leave the impression that the good had a decided preponderance over the evil.

Calcutta, September 7, 1818.

My dear Friend,

Your very acceptable letter of the 6th of February, reached me only two days since, and has relieved me from some anxiety.

* * * * * *.

You say that you have but an imperfect view of my condition here, my views, my hopes, and my difficulties; and whether the good or the evil preponderates. It is difficult to strike a balance where the items are of so variable and fugitive a nature, as are the human feelings; but certainly I should be ungrateful to Providence were I to repine at my having quitted England: and of this I am certain, that had I persisted in refusing the offer, my conscience would not have been easy. I should have constantly accused myself of having declined important duties, to which I had been called in a singular manner, from unworthy considerations of my own ease. I have certainly great difficulties and discouragements to contend with; and I have also to struggle against all sorts of irregularities and anomalies, such as have no existence in England, while my powers are fettered and curtailed. Why I do not sink under

all these discouragements, I can hardly tell you. In my present state of debility they do indeed seem tremendous: but, at other times, I persuade myself, that perseverance in the course of duty will finally prevail over all impediments; and I look forward to the time when, after all my toils, I may close my career in England. A wise man, at least in the stoical sense, should be indifferent upon this subject; but at present I am not so. At the utmost, I could not expect to carry back any thing better than enfeebled faculties and a worn-out constitution; but still I cannot repress the desire of passing my last days, however few, in England. By that time indeed, or long before, I shall feel that I need retirement. My life here is anxious and laborious, but I hope, and I believe it is generally felt, that I am doing good. It would be a great relief to me at this season, and very conducive to my health, if I could cruise for a fortnight or three weeks at the Sand Heads (the mouth of the river), but I cannot well leave my business, nor can I take it with me. Among other new undertakings here for the benefit of the natives, who *now* certainly are not neglected, are the schools of the diocesan committee just set on foot by me. They are nobly patronised: we have already got about 1200*l.* in donations, and 400*l.* per annum in subscriptions, and a great deal more may be expected from the provinces.

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They are merely schools for "useful knowledge;" but that all leads to Christianity. The object is to make the boys too wise for the Brahmins; after which we trust, that with God's blessing a purer and a more reasonable faith will find its way. We are commencing our operations in a swarming suburb to the south of the city. But I must conclude.

Yours ever affectionately,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

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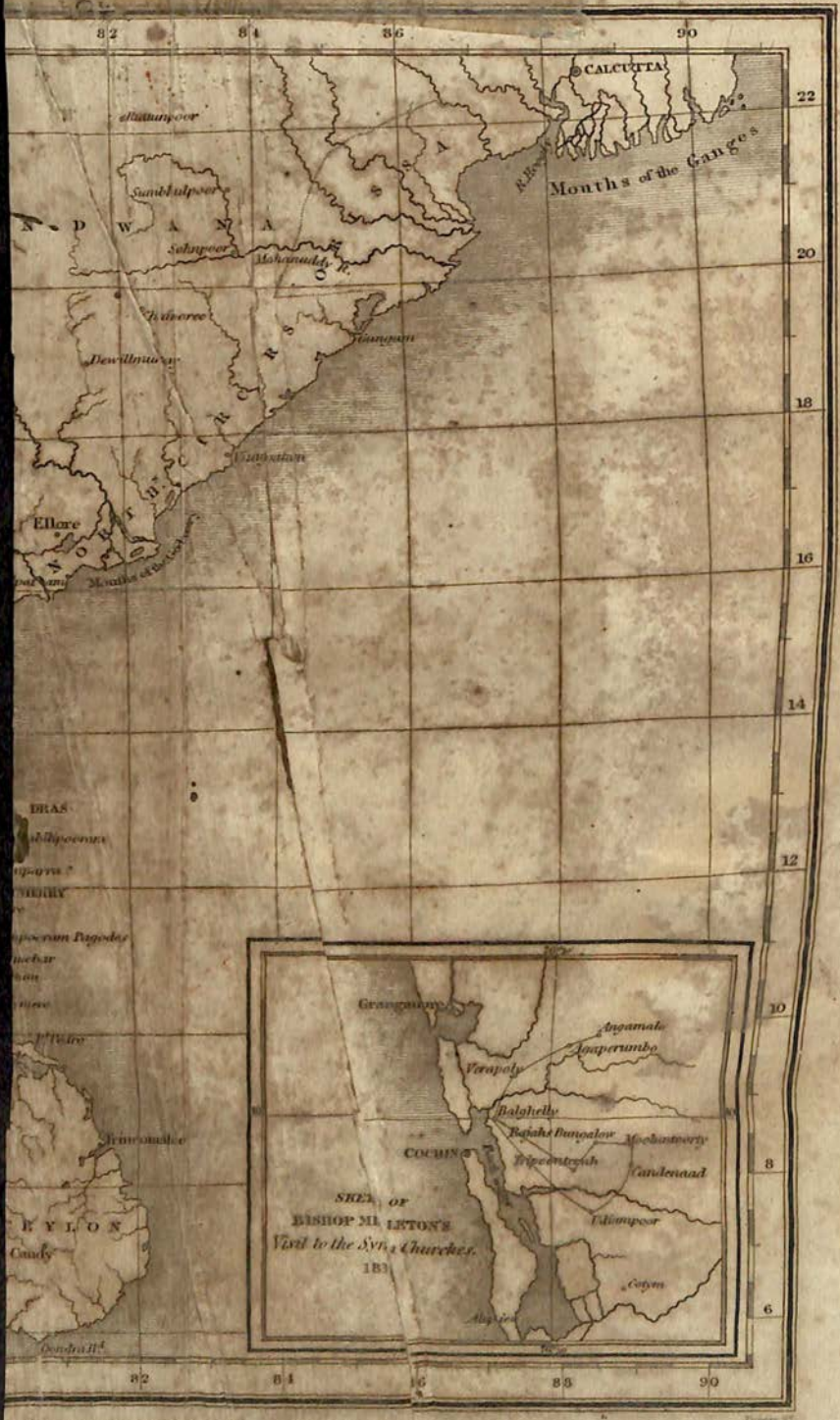

C. & J. Rivington, London, January 1817.

THE

LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

THOMAS FANSHAW MIDDLETON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

BY

THE REV. CHARLES WEBB LE BAS, M.A.

PROFESSOR IN THE EAST INDIA COLLEGE, HERTFORDSHIRE,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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LIFE

OF

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On the 8th of August in this year the Bishop had laid the first stone of a church to be erected at Dum-Dum, the principal station, near Cal-

CHAP. XVII. 1818. cutta, of the European artillery [1]; and it was satisfactory to learn that other churches were likely to be built in the more important stations

[1] The following inscription was engraved on a brass plate, enclosed in the bottom of the foundation stone:—

In nomine Individuæ Trinitatis
Anno LVIII. Georgii Tertii
Britanniarum regis
Pii, venerandi, suis cari,
Quum rebus Societatis Anglicanæ
Apud Indos mercaturam facientis
Cum militaribus
Tum civilibus præesset
Vir summe Nobilis
Franciscus Marchio de Hastings,
Pacata Nepaulia
Mahrattis in ditionem Britannicam
Redactis,
Ubique Felix,
Ecclesiæ Dum-Dummensis
Jacta sunt fundamenta
Sumptibus Societatis
Auspicante Thoma
Primo sedis Calcuttensis Episcopo
Adjuvante Thoma Robinson
Presbytero.
Faxit Spiritus Sanctus
Ut hocce opus ad uberrimos
Evangelii fructus redundet.
Amen.

of the presidency, where they were so much wanted. In the meantime, the various religious designs for the promotion of Christian knowledge and education, not only in Calcutta, but in every part of his diocese, continued to engage the Bishop's active and zealous interest. Among the most important of them was, the establishment of schools for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the native inhabitants of the presidency of Bengal, under the management and control of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This Society had, from the first appointment of the Bishop, placed votes of credit at his disposal, which, from time to time, were most liberally renewed. These the Bishop made use of for various objects connected with the advancement of Christianity. In order that the public may be fully in possession of the motives which induced him to devote to this project a portion of the resources thus entrusted to his disposal, an extract from the letter, in which he announced his proceedings to their secretary, Dr. Gaskin, is here inserted, dated Calcutta, 21st August, 1818.

. . . . . "I have now to communicate that I have availed myself of the vote of credit granted me by the Society, on an occasion which appears to me fully to justify an application of their funds, though its novelty may require some explanation.

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"It has long been the opinion of persons the best acquainted with the state of this country, that little progress can be made in the work of conversion, in the present prevalence of ignorance and superstition. My own observation leads me decidedly to this conclusion: and the conclusion is so general, that the missionaries of all the Christian sects are turning nearly the whole of their attention to the business of native schools. The Church Missionary Society are also labouring in this department; and, as I have reason to believe, with good success.

"It had long been the wish of some of the members of our diocesan committee, that we also should contribute our endeavours to the mental and moral improvement of the natives; but, on various accounts, I considered it to be my duty to deprecate our interference in the business, till experience had shown us what was safe and practicable. In this interval, experience, upon a pretty large scale, has afforded us the information required; and the change of sentiment among our European residents has been at least proportionate. The enlightened nobleman [1] who presides over the interests of Great

[1] The Marquess of Hastings, in a public discourse as visitor of the college of Fort-William, observed, that "the amendment must begin from the lowest step. It is only by facilitating and encouraging the education of a rising generation, that any thing solid can be done; a process to which I am

Britain in India, is the known and avowed promoter of all which can tend to rescue the native mind from its present state of bondage: and his lordship loses not any opportunity, in his public addresses, of recommending all temperate endeavours to disseminate European knowledge throughout this vast population. CHAP. XVII. 1818.

"At a time, then, when all classes of Christians amongst us, and some even of the natives themselves, are coming forward in the work of education, I could no longer think it consistent with the honour of the Church in this country, or of our Church Society, to remain passive in a scene of such activity. We cannot, indeed, at once begin with doing all that we wish; or all that the name of our Society may seem to import. Christian knowledge cannot, in such circumstances, be inculcated at the outset. The rudiments of science and moral truth are all which it is found possible to communicate in this early stage; and more will not be attempted by ourselves. We trust, however, that when the minds of the rising generation shall have been made unfit to receive gross and grovelling prejudices, they will be open to the admission of truth, and the blessed influence of the Gospel.

satisfied the parents will every where be found eagerly disposed, from what they have seen of the advantages of our science."

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"It was resolved, therefore, a few days since, at a numerous meeting at which I had the honour to preside:—

"'1. That it is expedient that schools be established by this committee for the purpose of diffusing useful knowledge among the inhabitants of the territory subject to this presidency.

"'2. That the school be primarily for the conveyance of knowledge in the languages of the country; but that boys distinguished by their proficiency in these, be removable to separate schools, where English shall be taught.

"'3. That donations be solicited from members of the diocesan committee and others, for carrying into effect the preceding resolutions, and also annual subscriptions, the amount to be left to the option of the subscribers; and that the sums thus accruing shall be applied, exclusively and entirely, to the aforesaid object, and be annually accounted for in the general report.

"'4. That a separate committee be formed for carrying into effect the above purposes, to be called the school committee, and consist of the select committee for the time being, and of additional members, being also members of the diocesan committee:'

"With other resolutions of less importance.

"By the third resolution you will perceive, that no part of the sums contributed specifically for schools, will be remitted to England. If your

claim to a third had extended thus far, I am convinced, from the manner in which the question was repeatedly asked, that it would have been fatal to the whole design. But the reason of your claim does not apply to the present instance; and the case seems to be clearly exempted in the last clause of your tenth regulation respecting district committees. I consider, however, that, by this measure, the interests of the Society cannot fail to be advanced. There will, no doubt, be many contributors merely in support of schools; but these will have no part in our proceedings, even when schools are the subject: so that the inducement to join us will be increased; not to insist that our general designs will thus become better known. CHAP. XVII. 1818.

"Upon these grounds I have deemed it advisable to put down, in the name of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," the sum of 2000 Sicca rupees: and it will afford me much satisfaction to know, that I have employed their funds to a purpose which they cordially approve."

The operations of the committee, in pursuance of these plans, were commenced at Russipoogly, at which place, and in the vicinity of Kalughat, four schools were immediately established. A second circle of schools was contemplated for Cossipore; thus comprising two of the most populous districts in the vicinity of

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Calcutta. The schools enjoyed the advantage of assiduous visitation by the Rev. Mr. Hawtayne, who had undertaken the office of the secretary to the committee. They were patronised with surprising liberality. No less than between 1400*l.* and 1500*l.* were contributed towards their support in donations, besides 500*l.* in annual subscriptions. Among the beneficial effects which the Bishop anticipated from the instruction thus afforded to the children of heathens and idolaters, was the impulse they would probably give to the curiosity of the native population; a principle which, once excited, might eventually lead to results much more valuable than the acquisition of secular or scientific knowledge. In this expectation it would seem he was not disappointed. In a letter written some months afterwards [1], he says, "As to the state of the native mind in this neighbourhood, I am convinced that great changes are taking place. *Our schools are giving rise to a great deal of discussion.* The people seem very much disposed to send their children, notwithstanding that they perceive the tendency of knowledge to make them Christians. They suppose '*it must be!*' I see evidently that idolatry must be undermined, and not ridiculed. I heard the other day of some little ill-humour about our schools: but it turned

[1] To archdeacon Barnes, January 28th, 1819.

out that a missionary had been in the district, using language by which the people felt themselves insulted." The very name indeed of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," precluded any pledge to abstain from prosecuting the declared object of religious truth, while merely pursuing the design of general instruction: hence, while the constitution of the Society would not admit of such an association with natives as might, probably, tend at present to increase the number of children in its schools, the line of action which it pursued, would render such a step incompatible with its ultimate object, whenever opportunities might open for wholly fulfilling it."

The measures thus in progress in Calcutta, for the more effectual promotion of knowledge and truth, were accompanied with corresponding zeal at the subordinate presidencies. At Madras, a constant and unreserved communication on the affairs of the southern missions was maintained between the district committee and Bishop Middleton, and gave a sanction to their measures, which his authority alone could impart. The encouragement which he afforded to frequent reference, by the immediate and full communication of his invaluable opinion and advice on all important points, gave life and spirit to their exertions; and enabled them to suggest measures for the improvement and welfare of the mission, which, when approved by the

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Bishop, came recommended to the Society by the weight of his deliberate judgment. At Bombay, the district committee received additional strength by an order from the local government to be annually supplied with religious books, to the amount of 100*l.* for the use of the army and marine. A measure was also proposed for translating some of the Society's tracts into the native languages, not only for more general distribution, but in order, in some degree, to supply the great deficiency of original school books in the languages in most general use.

While the Bishop was thus personally and anxiously engaged in devising and patronising measures for the eventual propagation of the Gospel throughout our extensive dominions in the East, he continued to regard with much interest, as a valuable auxiliary in the intellectual improvement of the natives, the proceedings of the Calcutta school-book Society. The sphere of their labour increased, in proportion as the Society studied their worth. The field was new. An object, which in other countries, and under more favourable circumstances, might appear to some persons beneath the attention of a large association of individuals, was here of primary and extensive utility. In India is a vast population immersed in ignorance. Learning, if it at any time pervaded the body, is in a manner extinct.

The *love* of learning is to be excited; the powers of the mind are to be opened and brought into exercise. And the Society rightly judged that the education of the natives could not be more effectually promoted than by taking the young pupil at the very commencement of his studies, and providing him gradually with such books, as will conduct him, in due order, to the higher branches of learning.

In their recommendation of elementary books, the Society [1] preferred such as are in common use among the natives, as far as they could be approved, knowing the general aversion of the natives to novelty and change. But they soon found how few suitable school books existed in India: and, in receiving their supplies from Europe, it is obvious that images and descriptions drawn from European scenery and manners were but ill calculated for Indian schools. To the European instructor one of the first wants is a supply of tracts, skilfully adapted to the indigenous turn of thought, and to the mode of argument which is familiar to the native mind. In this useful work the Society continued to be actively engaged: and it was a gratifying symptom of the better prospects which were now beginning to open for India, that, encouraged by European example and co-operation, the

[1] First Report, 1818.

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opulent and more learned natives evinced a laudable willingness to aid in the efforts making to improve the condition and character of their fellow-countrymen.

The general interest now excited in England, by these proceedings of the Church in India, was shewn in an unexpected, and somewhat unusual manner. The University of Oxford, anxious to evince its sense of the great usefulness and importance of the ecclesiastical establishment in India, conferred, by a vote of Convocation, the degree of Doctor in Divinity on the archdeacons of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, who were each already graduates in that university. And the Vice-Chancellor, in a letter to the Bishop, requested his lordship to make known to them this compliment of the university, in testimony of the interest it took in the advancement of Christianity in the East, in connection with the Established Church. The same compliment was subsequently paid to the archdeacon of Colombo.

We now approach a time when the spirits of Bishop Middleton were happily revived and elevated by information, that certain vigorous and decisive measures had for some time been in agitation at home, with reference to missionary objects in India. In the middle of September, 1818, he received intelligence of a most animating nature, which amply indemnified him for

a long period of anxiety. At the commencement of the year[1], his grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as President of the incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, stated to the board of that institution, that time having been now allowed for the due settlement of episcopal authority in India, it appeared to him that the moment was at length arrived, when the operations of the Society might be safely and usefully extended in that quarter of the world; and that, with the security derived from proper diocesan control, it now became the Society to offer their co-operation with the Lord Bishop of Calcutta in such places as, with the concurrence of the constituted authorities for the governments of India, his lordship might be inclined to recommend. In pursuance of this intimation, it was resolved, that the sum of 5,000*l.* should be immediately placed at the disposal of the Bishop of Calcutta, to be used at his lordship's discretion, for the furtherance of the objects contemplated by the Society, without the loss of time which must necessarily be incurred by previous communication with Europe."

In thus extending their operations to the British dominions in the East, the Society expressed[2]

[1] See Report of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1819, p. 76.

[2] Address to the Public, 1818.

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themselves deeply sensible of the important obligations incumbent upon them, as members of a corporation originally established for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of the Gospel throughout the colonies and settlements under the dominion of British authority, and as induced by a variety of favourable circumstances, to extend their operations to the islands and continent of Asia. The appointment of a Bishop of Calcutta had supplied them with an adviser of not less discretion than zeal, to direct the Society's proceedings at the outset,—to point out safe and unexceptionable modes of acting,—to suggest proper rules and directions—and finally, to assist by his authority in the control and regulation of their missions. It was considered, however, that the present state of their funds was totally inadequate to such increased exertions; a petition therefore was presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, soliciting to be indulged with a letter to the archbishops, authorising a general collection within their provinces for the good uses of the Society: to which his Royal Highness readily assented.

This intelligence was as the breath of life to Bishop Middleton. It shewed him that his urgent representations had, at last, succeeded in communicating a powerful impulse to the public feelings in England. In his correspondence he speaks in language of high and grateful exultation of the

noble grant of the Society, and earnestly prays that God will direct him in the application of it. The royal letter he hails as a measure of "*great energy and dignity.*" "This," he says, "is one of the most gratifying things I have heard of since I came out to India, and it will raise the Church prodigiously both here and at home." He anticipated from this proceeding a mighty reinforcement to the strength which would certainly be derived from so decided a movement on the part of the Church towards these distant settlements of the empire. In these measures he contemplated with thankfulness the reward of his repeated and laborious statements relative to the languishing condition of our Indian missionary establishments, and the great spiritual wants of our Indian subjects; and he acknowledges that even in his most sanguine moments, he had never ventured to anticipate so magnificent a result.

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One memorable effect may most assuredly be traced to these splendid manifestations; for they confirmed him in the resolution to attempt the foundation of a mission college at Calcutta. It seems that a design of this nature had, for some time, been forming itself in his mind; and this manifestation of spirit in his own country, gave the final impulse which carried him forward to the execution of his purpose. Of the expediency of such an establishment, to be maintained on a

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liberal scale, in connection with the Church, he repeatedly expresses himself, in the strongest language, in his correspondence with his friends: and he recommends that it be fixed at the supreme presidency, so that it might become a seminary from which missionaries might be supplied for any part of the Indian diocese. From this period, we may consider the proposed Institution as the central object in all his designs for the advancement of Christianity in the East: and the project is unquestionably one which, alone, ought to secure him the gratitude and veneration of future ages. In the event of its success, the Church (as he himself observes) would be placed on a proud pre-eminence in the work of conversion, and would have a noble establishment for the propagation of the Gospel, such as no other Protestant Church had yet possessed. The nature of Bishop Middleton's design is fully developed in the following letter to the Rev. A. Hamilton, secretary to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dated November 16th, 1818:—

REVEREND SIR,

I have received your letter conveying to me a copy of the proceedings of the Society in the month of March last, on the subject of India missions; from which it appears, that the Society have placed at my disposal the sum of 5,000*l.*,

and invite my more particular suggestions as to the most prudent and practicable methods of promoting Christianity in this country. The Society may be assured, that I have been much gratified by this communication, and that I shall, with the Divine blessing, heartily co-operate with them in an enterprise so honourable to our Established Church, and commenced under auspices which give it the character of a national effort to disseminate in these regions our holy faith in its purest form. CHAP. XVII. 1818.

In offering to the Society my opinion as to what may be prudent, with reference to the *safety* of the measure, I can feel no embarrassment: the *danger*, generally speaking, of attempting to propagate Christianity in this country, is not the difficulty with which we have to contend: ordinary discretion is all that is required, and every proceeding I should consider to be safe, which did not offer a direct and open affront to the prevailing superstitions. In any attempt to enlighten, to instruct, or to convince, experience has abundantly shewn that there is not the smallest ground for alarm; and this, I believe, is now admitted by many, who once regarded such attempts with manifest apprehension. A more remarkable change of sentiment has seldom been effected within so short an interval.

The question, however, what may be practicable, so as most effectually to further the So-

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ciety's views, is much more comprehensive. Experience does not hold out much encouragement to efforts, which rely for their success entirely on the effect to be produced by preaching: they seem rarely to have excited any interest beyond that of a transient curiosity. The minds of the people are not generally in a state to be impressed by the force of argument, and still less to be awakened to reflection by appeals to their feelings and their fears: and yet preaching must form a part, a prominent part, I apprehend, in any scheme for the conversion of these people. What is further required, seems to be a preparation of the native mind to comprehend the importance and truth of the doctrines proposed to them: and this must be the effect of education. The Scriptures must also be translated, and other writings conducive to the end in view.

To embrace and combine these objects, therefore, I would have the honour to recommend to the Society, the establishment of a mission college, in the immediate vicinity of this capital, to be subservient to the several purposes;—

1. Of instructing native and other Christian youth in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters.

2. For teaching the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mussulmans

or Hindoos, having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage. CHAP. XVII. 1818.

3. For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral and religious tracts.

4. For the reception of English missionaries to be sent out by the Society, on their first arrival in India.

It may be expected that something should be offered in explanation of my meaning, under each of the heads.

1. One object proposed in this establishment is the training of native and Christian youth to be preachers, schoolmasters, and catechists. Such, I have no doubt, might be found in sufficient number, when it was understood that they would be fostered in a respectable establishment, with the assurance of an adequate provision upon leaving it: and I am clearly of opinion, that though native teachers by themselves will never effect much, our religion will make little progress in this country without their aid. The native Christian is a necessary link between the European and the Pagan: these two have little in common: they want some point of contact; the European and native mind seem to be cast in different moulds: if the Hindoo finds it very difficult to argue as we argue, and to view things as we view them, it is scarcely more easy for us to imagine ourselves in his condition, and to enter into the misconceptions and prejudices

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which obstruct his reception of the truth. The task is much the same as that of a man who, in the full maturity of understanding and knowledge, should endeavour to divest himself of these, and to think as a child.

It may have been observed, that I have mentioned the education of native and *other* Christian youth: in which I include a class of persons, who, though born in this country, are to be distinguished from natives usually so denominated, being the offspring of European parents: and I had more especially in view the sons of missionaries, who might be glad to avail themselves of this opportunity to bring up their sons to the same profession. It may not, perhaps, be improper to add, that, when I was in the south of India, specific proposals of this kind were made to me by missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

2. Another of the objects proposed is, to afford to native children instruction in useful knowledge, and especially in the English language, without any immediate view to their becoming Christians. It seems now to be generally believed, that little effect can be produced by preaching, while superstition and extreme ignorance are the prevailing characteristics of the people. We have not here, indeed, to encounter barbarism; the impediments to conversion are probably much greater than really

rude and uncivilised life ever presents: the progress of our religion is here opposed by discipline and system; and by these alone, with the Divine blessing, can it ever make its way. The tenets of superstition are inculcated in early life: the popular writings are generally tales familiarising the mind with the achievements of Hindoo divinities; and the Brahmin possesses an almost unbounded influence over the people committed to his care. While this state of things prevails, the truths of the Gospel are heard unheeded: they are not perceived to be truths, nor is there much disposition to examine them. They appeal to no recognised principle, and they excite no interest. The Hindoo, if he reflect at all, finds atonement in his sacrifices, and a mediator in his priest.

It is conceived, therefore, that one great instrument of the success of Christianity will be the diffusion of European knowledge. It seems almost impossible that they, who in their childhood shall have been accustomed to use their minds, can ever afterwards be capable of adopting the absurdities and reverencing the abominations now proposed to them as truth, and the acceptable worship of God: it is hoped that, by enlarging the sphere of their ideas generally, we shall teach them to enquire at least upon subjects, on which we do not professedly instruct them; and that they, who have been emanci-

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pated from superstition, may in time be brought to a knowledge of Christ.

I have, however, laid particular stress upon the teaching of English. If this were generally understood through the country, it would, I doubt not, entirely alter the condition of the people: it would give them access to our literature and habits of thinking; and the familiar use of it would tend very much to dissipate the prejudices and the indifference, which now stand in the way of conversion. Our language is so unlike every thing Oriental, not merely in its structure, but in the ideas to which it is made subservient, in imagery, in metaphor, and in sentiment, that a competent acquaintance with it seems unavoidably to lead the mind of a native into a new train of thought, and a wider field of reflection. We, in learning the languages of the East, acquire only a knowledge of words: but the Oriental, in learning our language, extends his knowledge of things.

The introduction of our language, however, into this country to any great extent, is, in the present state of things, to be wished for rather than to be expected. To the acquisition of it there has not been much inducement. For almost every purpose of intercourse with the natives, we have learnt their languages, instead of inviting them to learn ours: the effect of which has been, that they have hitherto known little more

of our religion, our science, and our institutions, than may have transpired in an intercourse which had other objects in view. Still, however, parents are found, who are anxious that their children should acquire our language, especially in the neighbourhood of the presidencies; and this disposition is increasing: a knowledge of English is found to facilitate the intercourse of the natives with the commercial part of the community, especially since the opening of the trade; and it is useful in some of the public offices. Of this disposition we should avail ourselves as far as we can: neither is there a backwardness to attend schools for instruction in general knowledge: the only restriction is, that we do not introduce the Scriptures, or books directly inculcating our religion; and even that is by no means rigidly enforced.

3. In the third place, I would make the mission college subservient to the purpose of translations. Much has, indeed, been done or attempted in this way; but by no means, as I have reason to believe, so much and so well, as to make this department of missionary labour superfluous or unimportant. We still want versions, which, instead of being the work of one or two individuals, should be the joint production of several, taking their allotted portions of Scripture, submitting their tasks to approved examiners, and sending the whole into the world

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under the sanction of authority. Rapidity of execution, and the carrying on of many versions at the same time, should not be among the objects aimed at: it is not to be expected that standard works can be thus produced. To the same department would be committed translations of our Liturgy, that thus copies of the prayer-book might accompany the Scriptures: hence also might emanate translations of useful tracts, or original ones better adapted, perhaps, than any which exist, to the use of the natives: and it would be proper to include under this head, what probably has not yet been attempted, I mean something which might convey to converts an idea of the nature of Christian society, and the constitution of the Church. Success, however, in this department, evidently supposes the college to be well established, and great progress to have been made in the languages by the persons connected with it; and at no period perhaps could it supply the number of labourers required: but it would doubtless receive assistance from without, from persons abundantly competent to afford it, and be a point of union for the exertions of all, who would wish the native Christianity of India to be that of the Established Church.

4. In the last place, I consider the college as affording great advantages to missionaries coming from England, upon their first arrival: they

would here live in the society of persons, whose minds were directed to the same pursuits; they would have in the moonshees attached to the institution, every facility for acquiring the languages: they would have the use of books, and they would acquire a knowledge of the manners and opinions of the natives, before they proceeded to their destined scene of duty. Every missionary must, in fact, have been a year or more in the country, before he can be at all efficient; and no where could he pass this interval so profitably as in such an establishment.

It is obvious, however, that this plan will require considerable funds. The 5000*l.* already voted will probably be sufficient to defray the expense of all requisite buildings, including the purchase of land. The annual expense of the establishment is a subject of separate consideration: in the beginning, we should require at least two persons, and afterwards three, to be permanently attached to the seminary, as professors or teachers: and these should be clergymen of the Church of England. The salary of the senior could not be well less than 400 sicca rupees per month, or 600*l.* per annum; and that of his colleague or colleagues 300 sicca rupees per month, or 450*l.* per annum; and I should hope, that men well qualified for the work, and really actuated by zeal in such a cause (without which all other qualifications would be useless) might

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be induced to accept the appointments: in addition to the salary, a residence capable of accommodating a family would be assigned to each. Two moonshees or native teachers would cost together about 100*l.* per annum. Ten students, as above described, might be fed and clothed for about 500*l.* per annum; and a small establishment of servants would require about 100*l.* per annum. These different heads of expenditure make up an annual sum of 2100*l.* supposing three professors; or 1650*l.* with two. Besides this, a printing establishment would in a few years require to be supported; and native schools would also be attended with some expense (about 36*l.* per annum) for every school of one hundred children, besides about 20*l.* for building a room or shed: but for this I have little doubt that the liberality of the Indian public would in a great measure provide, as has lately been done with respect to the schools of the Calcutta diocesan committee. I do not know of any contingent expenses, except repairs, which in the case of new and substantial buildings could not amount to any thing considerable for the first twenty years.

But we are to recollect, that our institution has for its leading object the education of persons who are afterwards to be maintained as missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, and to act under and in concert with missionaries to be

sent out from England. I suppose every missionary station to be the residence of an English missionary (a clergyman), one or two missionaries educated in the college, and who might perhaps be ordained, or a missionary and a catechist, and a schoolmaster, all from the college. This would be the state of things when the system was in full action, and any considerable progress had been made. The English missionary would be indispensable to direct the course of proceedings, and to give respectability and energy to the mission: while the native missionaries would be necessary not only for the tasks assigned them, but to give the English missionary easier access to the natives, and to assist him in encountering opinions and habits with which an European must be less conversant. It is difficult to determine, or rather to conjecture, how many stations thus constituted, the college, with the proposed number of students, might in any given period supply: much, of course, would depend upon the age of admission and the time required for their studies, according to which the succession would be quicker or slower: but the admission might be so regulated as to supply any demand not beyond its actual power, which demand would be limited by the funds applicable to the support of missionaries, &c. brought up in the college. Upon any reasonable supposition, however, a college

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of ten students would very soon supply all that could be required for three missionary stations, constituted as already described; after which, if necessary, the admissions might be reduced. With respect to the English missionary, who should be a clergyman, he would require a salary of 250*l.* per annum, and his assistants from the college from 150*l.* to 180*l.* each, according to the class of persons to which they belonged; or among them 350*l.* per annum—and small dwellings, or bungalows, as we call them in this country, should be provided; of which, however, the original cost is little, and it could not frequently recur. Independently of this charge, and of a small chapel at each station, to be built in due time, which might cost perhaps 500*l.* we should have three missionary stations well provided, at the expense of 600*l.* each, or 1800*l.* for the three: and if these should have the blessing of God, and means were found to extend the system, it might be done almost indefinitely, with a moderate addition of expense, within the college; without any, in fact, till it should be found necessary to increase the number of students.

But in this detail of annual expenditure, which I should hope does not exceed what may be expected from the public benevolence at home, when appealed to by the highest authorities, and assisted perhaps in India, I should

observe, that some time must elapse, even in the most prosperous commencement of the work, before the funds required can be nearly so considerable as I have here supposed. The expense which is to accrue without the walls of the college, could not arise for some time: and even the whole of the charge for students would not be immediate, inasmuch as the professors or teachers must devote some time after their arrival to the acquisition of the languages, before they could instruct pupils unacquainted with English. The establishment would at first consist of the two English professors, perhaps a very few pupils acquainted with our language, two monshees, and a few servants. In process of time, indeed, such an institution might, if blessed by the Almighty, multiply its labours and extend its operations through so wide a field, as to baffle all present calculation of its future wants: but the Society, I apprehend, will not consider this remote contingency as an objection to such appropriation of any resources which Providence may place at their disposal.

No funds, however, can ensure a reasonable prospect of success in such an undertaking, unless the persons selected to execute it have the requisite qualifications. The clergymen sent out to conduct the labours of the college, must possess considerable endowments; he, of course, especially, who is to be at the head of it: they should

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be, if not distinguished for general scholarship, at least respectable divines, acquainted with the Scriptures in the originals; of frugal and laborious habits; and possessing a talent for languages: and without a certain ardour of character, a deep feeling of the importance of the duties committed to them, and a disposition to value success in such an enterprise more than that in any other human pursuit, they would not, I fear, answer the end proposed. The senior should not, I imagine, be more than thirty years of age, and his colleagues might be somewhat younger. With respect both to the professors and the missionaries, I would observe, that temper and manner are here of the utmost importance: the natives require in their teachers great patience and mildness: they do not feel strongly themselves, and they are easily disgusted by any thing like asperity or irritation. I hardly need add, that they should be men of sedate habits and of serious piety: the natives look for these qualities in all, who seem to them to set up for teachers, though they do not find it, or perhaps expect it, in their hereditary priesthood. Vacancies in the professorships should, I conceive, be filled up from among the missionaries, not with reference merely to seniority, but to merit and qualifications.

You will observe, that I have supposed the college to be in the immediate vicinity of Cal-

cutta: several considerations make this expedient. The time appears to have arrived, when it is desirable that some missionary endeavours at least should have a visible connection with the Church establishment: the natives have a preference, all other things being equal, for that which is countenanced by authority: and this seems to point out the propriety of placing this establishment within the bishop's reach (I speak for myself and my successors), that they may in some measure superintend its proceedings, and make it apparent that the propagation of our religion is not a matter of so little interest with us, as to be left entirely to persons whom none of the constituted authorities avow. Supposing the college to be in or near Calcutta, the bishop might act as visitor; but he could not otherwise, in any degree which could be of use.

Another circumstance, however, seems to indicate the propriety of the proposed situation: I speak with reference to the literary labours connected with the college. Translations will require a concentration of all the learning which can be brought to bear upon the subject; and here, if any where in India, is this aid to be looked for: besides that, translators will here have access to books which the college library might not for some time supply. To these considerations I will add what is, indeed, but an indirect advantage, yet ought not to be wholly

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overlooked, that such an institution in or near to Calcutta will attract the observation of our countrymen, serving continually to remind them of the great object to which it is directed, and to interest them in promoting it.

Upon the subject of the vote of credit, I ought to observe, that at the present, and I believe the usual rate of exchange, I should draw upon the society's treasurer to great disadvantage; at this period the loss would be from 12 to 15 per cent. The most advantageous mode of remittance to India is considered to be by the transmission of dollars, when they do not bear a very high price in London.

I have thus complied with the request of the Society in offering them my sentiments upon the subject of their inquiry. In conclusion, I beg leave to add, that the crisis is such as not to admit any delay, which can conveniently be avoided. I regret, indeed, exceedingly, that from my ignorance of the Society's further views, and future resources, I cannot immediately avail myself of their vote of credit for the purposes here detailed; a year is of great importance, and yet a year must be lost. It may appear, perhaps, that the plan which I have recommended is somewhat extensive; no scheme, however, which is narrow in its first conception, or not capable of an almost unlimited expansion, is suited to the temper of the times, or to the circumstances of this country.

Our power is now established throughout this vast peninsula in a degree which, but a few years since, the most sanguine did not contemplate; civilization and religion may be expected in the ordinary course of Providence to follow the successes of a Christian state; and in every view, religious or political, ought we to desire, that the faith adopted, and the opinions imbibed, may attach the people to our national institutions, and more firmly cement the connection of India with the British crown.

I request you to assure the Society of my cordial desire to forward their benevolent designs to the utmost of my power, and that I pray the Almighty to direct them in all their deliberations.

T. F. Calcutta.

1819.

This communication reached the Board in London early in May, 1819, and was received, as might be expected, with the most lively interest. No sooner was the projected institution of a mission college made generally known, than it was eminently honoured by the favour and patronage of the public in England. The King's letter, authorising collections throughout the country, was not issued until after the reception and entire adoption of the Bishop's proposal, nor till his interesting letter had been published, and very generally circulated. The appeal then made was productive beyond all former example.

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The contributions exceeded 50,000*l.* Other religious societies also munificently aided the work. A copy of the Bishop's letter, being communicated by order of the Board to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a resolution was immediately passed in the following terms: "Agreed, that this Board do receive, with the most heartfelt satisfaction, the communication now made through their East India Mission committee, and feeling the strongest assurances that the proposed establishment of a mission college in India, under the superintendence of the bishop of Calcutta, and the extension of the operations of the Society for the diffusion of Christianity in the East, do, under Divine Providence, present at once the most safe and effectual means for the propagation and complete attainment of their object, for which this Society has been long and anxiously labouring; the Board, therefore, do most cordially concur with the recommendation of their East India committee, and agree that 5,000*l.* be accordingly placed at the disposal of the Bishop." The Church Missionary Society also, considering the projected college to be highly important to the Christian cause, promptly added a similar donation, which they requested the Bishop to accept in furtherance of the object: and, soon after, the British and Foreign Bible Society munificently contributed 5,000*l.* towards the expenses of trans-

lating the sacred Scriptures into the Asiatic languages; reserving to themselves no control or inspection of the work, and leaving it to be accomplished solely under the auspices of the Bishop and the superintendence of the college. CHAP. XVII. 1819.

In communicating this gratifying adoption of his views on the part of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the secretary further stated the views and proceedings of the Society in advancing the institution which the Bishop had so wisely and judiciously recommended.

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

July 30, 1819.

My Lord,

The proceedings of the Society, on the receipt of your letter of November 16th, which announced the adoption of all those measures recommended by your lordship, have already been transmitted[1]. We have now the honour of inclosing a duplicate, and of stating, in addition, that at the last meeting, application was directed to be made to the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, requesting them to make inquiry for persons properly qualified to fill the several professorships in the new college, on the terms recommended in your letter. We have it further in charge from the Society, in order that they may be ready to proceed on their voyage at

[1] In a letter dated May 22, 1819.

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such time as your lordship shall name, to request that your lordship will have the goodness to take such steps as in your discretion you think will be the most effectual in expediting the foundation of the college. The measure is so wise in itself, and is so much approved by the public, as to leave no room for apprehension that funds will be wanting to defray the charge of the buildings, or the future expenses of the establishment; and the Society have so much reliance on your lordship's judgment, that they have no doubt, that whatever you shall think necessary to be done, will meet their entire concurrence.

In this confidence, they are desirous that time should not be unnecessarily lost in references to Europe—it being, in their view, of the greatest importance that the college should be ready for action within the shortest possible period, which the necessary regard to solidity in the buildings, and the formation of the requisite arrangements, will allow.

At the same time they request that your lordship will do them the favour of suggesting, from time to time, such farther measures as may in your judgment be likely to raise the credit and promote the efficiency of the establishment; and they have directed us to express, in the strongest terms, their sense of the judgment and ability displayed in a plan in which they have

found nothing to mend, and their persuasions that the same qualities will be exerted with equal success in carrying that plan into execution. CHAP. XVII. 1819.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

It will here be proper to introduce, by anticipation, the letter addressed by the Bishop to the Society in the November following; which is important, as shewing the gratification he derived from their approval of his plans—as stating the inadequacy of his first estimate of the expense—as displaying the advantages of the site which he obtained for the building—and, lastly, as exhibiting his reasons for wishing the appointment of three professors.

Calcutta, November 30, 1819.

Reverend Sirs,

I have to acknowledge the receipt, on the 16th instant, of your letter of the 22d May last, in which you convey to me the resolutions of the Society upon the subject of my letter of the 16th November, 1818; and while I admit the satisfaction which I have derived, on public grounds, from the ready adoption of a plan which, being framed with a view to the advancement of true religion, will, it is hoped, have the blessing of God, I am bound in justice to my personal feelings, to acknowledge the high honour conferred

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upon me by the Society's unequivocal expression of their favourable opinion and confidence. It is also highly gratifying to me to learn, from another quarter, that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to whom, in conformity with your second resolution, the plan was submitted, have as cordially approved it, and voted, in like manner, 5000*l.* in furtherance of the object.

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of the Society, that through the favour and distinguished liberality of his Excellency the Marquess of Hastings, I have obtained from the supreme government, a piece of land as a site, which, in reference to the purpose contemplated, is not surpassed by any other whatever. In truth, it is the spot to which my attention was strongly directed before I had ventured to indulge the hope of obtaining it. The papers inclosed will convey to you some idea of its locality and form; it has not yet been accurately surveyed, but it will be found, I believe, to contain about twenty English acres. Its distance from Calcutta is hardly three miles, and yet, by being on the opposite side of the river, which is much wider than the Thames at Westminster, but without any bridge, the college will afford to the students all the privacy and retirement which can be desired: at the same time it will be a conspicuous object, presenting itself to the notice

of our countrymen on their first approach to this capital. I have every reason to hope that the situation will be found healthy: that side of the river is generally preferred; and you will observe, that the college grounds will be open to the south, the river in that reach lying nearly east and west. The benefit of this position will be evident, when it is recollected that, during the hot season, from March to September or October, the wind blows constantly from the southward. Close adjoining to the westward, is the Honourable Company's botanic garden, and to its beautiful and shady walks on the banks of the river, the professors will, no doubt, have free access, with the further advantage, in case of sudden illness, of medical aid close at hand, in the superintendent of the garden: nor is it, perhaps, to be altogether disregarded in an establishment of this sort, that the scenery is such as to gratify and soothe the mind. Directly in front of the college will be a fine expanse of water, on which vessels are continually passing to or from Calcutta; and on the opposite bank is the line of villas which adorn the Garden Reach. The ground slopes gently on both sides of the piece of water, which is laid down on the eastern side of the plan: and this water, while it will be ornamental, will serve also as a drain; and it can never stagnate, as it communicates with the river by a sluice, so as to receive a fresh supply at every influx of the tide.

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It may also be expected that the college chapel will afford an opportunity of attending the service of the Church to several of the residents on that side of the water, who are at present precluded from it by the difficulty of crossing the river:—they will still, indeed, be at some distance, but by many, it may be hoped, this will not be regarded. The Company's solicitor has been with me this morning to confer with me on the subject of the conveyance; a grant of the land either directly to the Society, or to myself as their trustee, as may be found most advisable, will be completed without delay, and a counterpart shall be forwarded by the first opportunity.

But while I congratulate the Society on this highly prosperous commencement, I must inform you, that the sum which I mentioned in my letter of the 16th November, 1818, as probably sufficient for the erection of the college, is found, on inquiry, which I could not so properly make at that period, to be inadequate, although I am not yet enabled to state precisely what will be required; I have, however, requested an eminent architect to furnish me with an estimate, and I will take care that œconomy be observed so far as may be compatible with the objects proposed, and the permanent interests of the institution. I do not conceive it to be advisable that the buildings should be on the narrow scale which might answer, perhaps, for a mere beginning, when we consider

how extensive is the field of operation contemplated; nor would any thing which disappointed the public expectation, or seemed unworthy of the national effort, to which, in great measure, the institution will owe its origin, be found to prefer a powerful claim to future support. I do not, indeed, consider the first expense of the buildings to be so much an object of calculation and solicitude, as the perpetual maintenance of the establishment in vigour and activity: and when the college shall have been completed on a liberal scale, and its objects shall be generally known and justly appreciated, donations and legacies will, we may trust, come in to the aid of any funds already possessed for its support, and enable it to become a seminary for missions to every part of India.

My views, indeed, of the usefulness of the establishment have not at all contracted since I had the honour of proposing it. In order to its realizing these views, it must be capable of educating pupils not only from the provinces within this archdeaconry, where Hindustanee and Bengalee are the languages principally used, but also in due time from districts where the Tamul, the Teloogòo, the Mahratta, the Cingalese, and perhaps the Malay, and one or two others, are respectively vernacular, that is to say, from almost every part of the continent and islands of Asia, subject to British authority, as contemplated in

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the King's letter: but this will require resident moonshees from the several districts, who shall be competent to teach their respective languages to English missionaries during their residence in college, before they proceed to their stations, and also to assist the professors in conveying instruction to pupils brought from the same countries, as well as in making translations for the use of the inhabitants. But this supposes buildings co-extensive with the objects of the institution: the moonshees must in time be numerous, and the students must be as many as may be required to keep up a supply of native missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters for all the stations which we may be enabled to support. Our printing establishment must also, after a time, be considerable, and it will form a very important department of our labours. A difficulty, indeed, is sometimes found in the want of proper channels for the distribution of what is printed; but in this respect we shall possess pre-eminent advantages. Independently of our missionaries, &c. we may look to the co-operation of the district committees of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, established at the three presidencies and at Colombo, and more recently at Prince of Wales's Island, in the straits of Malacca, so that every part of India, and the islands, is within the sphere of their agency; and in co-operating with the college in the dis-

tribution of works issuing from its press, they would materially increase their own efficiency. An application from the Bombay committee to the Society has actually been made, in reference to the expediency of printing books in the native languages. The several committees might have Oriental publications from the college on reduced terms, in the same manner that they purchase English books and tracts from the Society in London. The committees would thus be subsidiary to the college, and the college to the committees. The expenditure in the printing department would thus also be lightened, and it might perhaps be even further reduced by taking in printing, for which the customary price would be paid. Considerable funds will obviously be requisite for carrying on such extensive operations; but when it is seen that funds alone are wanting to give life and energy in all its parts to a comprehensive system, of which, however, the objects, and bearings, and mutual dependency, are easily understood, I should hope that public patronage would be granted to the full extent required.

It is my purpose, with the blessing of God, to commence the building as soon as possible; and although a considerable period, perhaps a year and a half, must elapse before the fabric can be completed, I would be permitted to observe, that it is of the highest importance that no time be lost

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in selecting and sending out fit persons to act as professors; and I will add, that even should two of them be already on their passage, they will not arrive too soon. Even then, the college will be ready to receive students quite as soon as the professors shall be competently acquainted with the native languages more immediately in use, and at all at leisure to attend to the instruction of their pupils. And with respect to the third professor, though the business of the college may begin before his arrival, he will be absolutely requisite before it can be carried on to any great extent. On this part, indeed, of the plan, I may not have been sufficiently explicit; and it may be thought that three clergymen can hardly be requisite for the instruction of ten, or even thirty pupils, if that number shall ever be required. It is not, however, merely in the instruction of pupils that the employment of the professors will consist, (though even this will make it necessary that one or other of the three shall possess some acquaintance with every language used in the college;) but the professors will further be called upon to give much of their time to the business of translations, and the senior will be much occupied in correspondence with the missionaries, in receiving their reports, and in arranging the details for transmission to England: besides, that all of them would probably be required to give some attention to the

press, in those languages in which they were conversant, even though an intelligent superintendent had the general management of the whole. Upon the selection of the professors, I have nothing to add to the remarks offered in my former letter: it is only to repeat, in substance, what I then submitted to the Society, to observe, that upon the ability, the zeal, and the piety of these persons, every thing, under Providence, will depend. It is, indeed, desirable that they should be academical men, if any so qualified can be found for the appointments. It would be necessary to defray their passage to this place, and somewhat should be allowed them in advance of their salaries. They would also require an allowance for house-rent till their houses in college were fit for their reception, and it would be proper that I should have notice of their expected arrival.

I am looking with much interest for the further communication promised me in your letter of the 22d of May.

T. F. Calcutta.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Bishop holds his second Visitation in Calcutta—Abstract of his Charge—Embarks for Madras—Letter to the author—Visits the Vepery mission—Visitation and confirmation at Madras—Sails for Penang—Letter to Mr. Ward descriptive of his voyage—Consecration of the church there—Formation of the Penang and Bencoolen district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Letter to Mr. Norris—Sermon at Penang—Returns to Calcutta—Character of archdeacon Loring.

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THREE years having now elapsed since the commencement of his primary visitation, the period was arrived at which the Bishop was again to meet his clergy at Calcutta, and to prepare for the labours of another circuit through his diocese. He accordingly assembled his clergy early in February, 1819, and delivered to them a charge, of which the following is an abstract. It has been thought proper to introduce here the substance of this address, because it fully and distinctly exhibits his deliberate sentiments respecting missionary labours,—formed after the most attentive observation continued for several years,—and shews how admirably he was qualified to illus-

trate that important subject by his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity.

His lordship began by remarking that no event had been, apparently, more propitious to the interests of the Gospel, than the acquisition, by a Christian state, of the sovereignty of Hindostan. It must, however, always be kept steadily in mind, that the successes of their country in the East had largely increased the responsibility of the English clergy: and they would but ill understand the extent of their sacred obligations if they contemplated, without any emotions of zeal, the prospect of moral and spiritual good to the people who surrounded them. His lordship then adverted to the subject of missionary labours, which (as he observed) it became every day more difficult to detach from discussions relating to the duties of the clergy in India. The concern that was so deeply felt for the condition of the heathen was, he said, highly honourable to our country, and, at the same time, peculiar to our religion: for Paganism but rarely sought for proselytes, and by Islamism conversion seemed to be valued chiefly as an instrument of conquest. It was, however, deeply to be regretted, that the missionary zeal, which was prompted by the benign spirit of the Gospel, was not always so happily regulated as to produce the highest degree of good. It seemed to be imagined by many, that our present exertions for the diffusion

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of Christianity, were conducted in the spirit of the primitive ages; a surmise which the early history of the Church would shew to be visionary and baseless. By the first preachers of the Gospel the diffusion of their religion was evidently identified with the expansion of the Catholic Church. To begin with the Apostles: missionaries they were, indeed, in the most illustrious acceptation of the word, going forth in the power and spirit of Christ, and establishing churches whose members should know of no separation but that of place. And then, there were Evangelists, who were likewise missionaries in the strictest sense. Their office, as we learn from Eusebius [1], was to preach Christ to those who had never heard of his name, and to deliver to them the Divine Gospels. It is asserted, however, on the same authority, that these men were the disciples of the Apostles; that they laboured not merely to found new churches, but to confirm and to consolidate those which were already planted; and even at the time of which the historian was speaking, the reign of Trajan, the Holy Spirit still wrought mighty works by their hands. Of course they were under His especial guidance; and the original purpose [2] of edification, and unity, and knowledge of the truth, was thus effectually fulfilled. The evangelists, although not confined

[1] Eccl. Hist. iii. 37. [2] Ephes. iv. 12.

to a certain spot longer than the occasion required, were always recognised as members of the Church, and clearly amenable to its discipline. We learn even from Mosheim, no very strenuous assertor of episcopacy, that the license of the bishop was required to sanction the missionary journeyings of those who were anxious to spread the Gospel among the heathen. Order, therefore, was not, in those times, regarded as an obstruction to the spirit of enterprise, or to the influences of heaven, but rather, perhaps, was reckoned among the tests and evidences of a commission from God.

Another ancient provision for the extension of the Gospel was the appointment of *catechists*. As the Evangelists were sent among distant nations, to whom the name of Christ was possibly unknown, the catechists were to bring into the fold of Christ the heathen who resided in the neighbourhood of any Christian Church. The conversion of these was an object contemplated in every Christian establishment. All who expressed a desire to become acquainted with the Christian doctrines, were considered as standing in a certain avowed and public relation to the Church. Catechisms were compiled expressly for their use: and the catechumens were allowed to be present in the church during the sermon, and while certain prayers were offered for their illumination.

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But all antiquity abounds with circumstances, which shew that the propagation of the Gospel was in close connection with order and discipline. Churches were built under the bishop's sanction, signified by his visiting the spot, and fixing a cross. No clergyman could be ordained but with a specific and local charge. A convert could not be admitted to the orders of priest or deacon, till he had brought over his whole family to the Catholic Church: and one of the canons of the Council of Chalcedon, provides for the consecration and subordination of bishops in foreign parts. Whatever may be the estimate which modern laxity may fix on regulations like these, they still shew what was the spirit of that system, under which our faith was disseminated, and on which manifestly rested the approbation and the blessing of God.

"If it be asked," continued his lordship, "whether, in ancient days, the progress of the Gospel was never embarrassed by schisms in the Church? the answer must be, that although such impediments unquestionably existed, yet they were always deplored as evils of no light moment, and as evidences of a *carnal mind;* and that, at all events, the truth prevailed not *through* the agency of those who fomented division, but in opposition to it, and in spite of it. Besides, it is an important consideration, that the points then in dispute were not of a *practical*

nature, on which all must declare themselves; but, rather, such as would be interesting chiefly to the learned and the studious; and even these differences seldom presented Christianity to the heathen under an aspect of disunion: since each particular district usually maintained the same doctrines. It may, further, probably be true, that religious controversies, not being in those days mixed up with questions of civil right, exercised a much less turbulent influence, than they have since done, over ordinary minds. In modern days the case is widely different. Our divisions, unhappily, involve a variety of questions, the notorious agitation of which must be eminently pernicious in a heathen land. Our controversies relate, in a great measure, to the form of ecclesiastical government, to the authority of religious teachers, and the source from which it is derived, to the lawfulness of bringing infants to Christ in the sacrament of baptism: and these are of a nature so practical and so visible, that they unavoidably present to the observant heathen an unhappy scene of collision and diversity."

His lordship then added, "that, since our system allows all denominations to settle in India, for the purpose of imparting 'to the *native inhabitants*, religious and moral improvement[1],'

[1] 53 Geo. III. c. 155. s. 33.

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it were, at all events, greatly to be desired that the *terms* of this grant should be more strictly observed, and that the labours of the missionaries should steadily be directed to the *native inhabitants*, who can derive no improvement from the English sermons addressed by missionaries to European congregations, or from their unauthorised interference with the duties of the chaplain. To consider a system, of which such proceedings form a part, as the best adapted to the conversion of the heathen, would be, not merely to renounce the wisdom of the Almighty, but to substitute for it what scarcely has the character of ordinary prudence."

That these views of the importance of primitive discipline to the success of missionary exertion, were wholly unconnected with unkind or narrow feelings towards our brethren of different persuasions, will be abundantly clear from the following passage, which is given entire:

"Still it may be asked, is there no way in which the different sects now unhappily dividing the Christian world, may essentially and unexceptionably contribute to the propagation of the Gospel? I should shrink from such a conclusion, however legitimate might be the process by which it might seem to be deduced. I should hesitate to believe for a moment, that laborious, and pious, and benevolent men, of any religious denomination, could be altogether disqualified

for furthering such a work. If they would turn their attention chiefly to the elementary instruction of youth,—to the dissemination of European knowledge and arts,—to the improvement of morals,—to facilitating the acquisition of languages,—to bringing us acquainted with the opinions, and habits, and literature of those whom we wish to convert,—and, generally, to breaking up and preparing the soil for the seed of the Gospel,—they would indeed be valuable auxiliaries to the Christian cause; and the most inconsiderable sect might thus attain a degree of usefulness, if not of worldly renown, which the most prominent cannot hope for in the present state of things."

Before dismissing this topic, his lordship, in allusion to the intended foundation of an episcopal missionary college, announced to his clergy that the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, considering the establishment of episcopacy in India as highly favourable to the design, were turning their thoughts to the founding of Eastern missions; and that, with this view, they had solicited the royal authority for the collection of contributions in the churches throughout England and Wales. Their object, his lordship had no doubt, would be to tread, as closely as times and circumstances would allow, in the footsteps of the primitive Church: and he observed, that if we looked to their

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labours in other parts, it would not be presumptuous to hope that, here also, the blessing of God would attend them.

The Bishop then proceeds to the more general topics of his charge, and he introduces them by an observation of irresistible truth,—that the best allies which the true missionary can desire, are a body of regular and active clergy. "If," says he, "it be possible to conceive a situation in which zeal, piety, and perhaps talents, are thrown away, it is that of a preacher to the heathen, who is labouring to make the heathen believe, in opposition to what they see. *By their fruits shall ye know them,* is a test which the Gospel cannot evade. It is the test which it has itself established,—not indeed of its Divine truth, (for that would be the same, though not a knee on earth should bow at the name of Jesus), but of the reception which it may expect in the world. Here, then, is the proper sphere of clerical exertion. In the most restricted notion of your duties, if you go not beyond the limits of your flocks, you are called upon to take care, so far as may be, that there be nothing within your own fold which may cause the heathen to blaspheme." These remarks were naturally followed by solemn exhortations to personal holiness, and to pastoral fidelity, and by an awful representation of the guilt incurred by a forgetfulness of these sacred responsibilities. That the effect of

these admonitions might not be lost in their generality, his lordship proceeds to insist on various details and particulars of clerical duty. He enlarges most impressively on the enormous evils which must be occasioned by the absence of the chaplains from their stations. In India, such suspensions of duty were unmitigated by the facility of procuring clerical assistance; and could therefore be excused by nothing but sickness or necessity, to be sufficiently certified either to the bishop or the archdeacon. With regard to the celebration of marriage, he reminded the clergy, that it must be held in churches or chapels, if within a reasonable distance, and, in every case, within canonical hours; and further, that the clergy have no authority to dispense with the publication of banns, unless superseded by a license. He then urgently recommended the sick soldiery at the hospitals to the benevolent and pious care of their spiritual guardians: and lastly, having touched on some other particulars connected with the regular performance of their office, he added, "I must repeat, till the admonition be absolutely superfluous, that order and system must in all things be maintained. There is, in the present day, a tendency in the world to neglect or to deny them; but they are of God. They prevailed in the Church in apostolic and primitive times, in a degree which now would be stigmatised as superstition. Without them no-

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thing great or good can be accomplished. They are the principles which hold together the works of the Creator. We find them duly recognised in his word. In matters of religion they are especially required, for God is not the author of confusion in the churches of the saints. We solemnly pledge ourselves to observe them in our ordination vows. In this country the natives have no notion of religion without them. They form, in short, the strength, the whole strength of false religions, and the want of them is the weakness of the true one. Impressed with these truths, you will not fail, by precept as well as by example, to uphold the constitution of the Church, in which you were ordained. Nor is it bigotry which I would recommend: unless, indeed, that is so denominated which is opposed to a torrent of undistinguishing generalities, or to the dogmatism of some aspiring sect."

His lordship concluded this incomparable address by earnestly charging his reverend brethren to take heed to the ministry which they had received of the Lord, that they might fulfil it. Even a small body of clergy, animated by the views and principles which he had displayed, could never be without influence in any region of the civilised world. They would possess an efficiency not, indeed, properly their own, but rather to be regarded as the operation of the Holy Spirit, acting in and through them.

"Commending you, therefore," he added, "to His guidance in all things, I pray that we may be enabled to render true and faithful service to the great head of the Church; and that, having contributed in our stations to promote his glory on earth, we may, in life's last retrospect, give praise unto him, and, with no reliance but on his merits, hope to be received to mercy."

When the Bishop proceeded on his primary visitation, the Governor-general, it will be remembered, in the absence of instructions from England, had given directions to the governments of Madras and Bombay for the payment of the Bishop's expenses. The subject having, in the meantime, been fully considered by the proper authorities, orders were now given, from the Court of Directors, for the payment to the Bishop of 10,000 rupees, on his visiting the presidencies of Madras and Bombay; a vessel being also provided, at the public expense, for the conveyance of his lordship and his family, and a suitable house at each presidency, furnished for his reception.

On the 12th of February, 1819, the Bishop embarked on his visitation for Madras, accompanied by Mrs. Middleton, and his chaplain, Mr. Hawtayne. On the 27th, he reached Madras, and shortly afterwards he addressed a very interesting letter to the writer of these pages, which is here inserted, as illustrative of

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the complexion of his feelings at the time, and of the various duties which awaited him at this presidency,—it is dated, March 12, 1819.

"You must not infer from my long silence that I am indifferent as to the state of my correspondence. My intercourse with friends in England, is my principal support under discouragements and the depressing influence of the climate. For my spirits are not what they used to be; and I find myself growing more dependent (though it ought to be the reverse) on '*things that are without*:' not, however, from an increasing attachment to the world,—quite otherwise,—but from my extended connection with the world, in the way of duty. Divested of such relations, I could live and die like a hermit; but they crowd upon my mind: *I feel that I cannot do a tenth part of what should be done;* and this feeling is sometimes so prevalent, that it causes me to do even less than might, perhaps, otherwise be accomplished. I know that I ought not to succumb; but no man, I suspect, except from experience, knows what it is to be charged with arduous and undefined duties, and to stand alone, without countenance or counsel, at no less a distance than 15,000 miles. While I was writing the preceding sentence, I received a letter from a remote part of the diocese, stating that there, and elsewhere, the people are living in a state of concubinage, from their inability to

bear their travelling expenses, where the clergyman is, perhaps, 100 miles distant; and thereupon founding an argument for the revival of lay-marriages, such as once prevailed all over India. So here the alternative is, a life of immorality, or the introduction of all kinds of disorder into one of the offices of religion; and I am required to give my opinion, what is to be done. This is a pretty fair specimen of the questions which are continually referred to me; and upon which I am to give my sentiments in writing. Clearly, I cannot authorise lay-marriages; but then it will be said, here is a bishop maintaining the rights of the clergy in opposition to the morals of the people!

"You will perceive that I date from Madras. I arrived here about ten days since on my visitation, and mean to stay, in the whole, six weeks; after which my ship, a very pretty vessel of nearly 400 tons, will carry me across the Bay to Pulo Penang (Prince of Wales's Island); and after staying there a few days, to consecrate a church, hold a confirmation, examine the charity children, &c. &c., I purpose to return to Calcutta; where, if Providence preserve me from rocks and storms, I hope to arrive before the end of May, in time to preach my Whitsunday sermon. I arrived here at a moment of peculiar interest. On the evening of the day on which I landed, Mrs. Elliot, the wife of the

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governor, died; and I buried her the following evening. On Sunday morning I preached and administered the sacrament at St. George's, the principal church; and, in the evening, preached a funeral sermon for this poor lady at the church in the Fort, in which she is interred. The latter is but a small church, and was exceedingly crowded; and I imagine the thermometer must have been at not less than 95°. This day's work was considered here as no small exertion. However, I escaped with nothing worse than a head-ache the following day. During my stay, I mean to preach every Sunday morning, to hold a visitation, and a confirmation, to examine the boys of the school (this was the original of Dr. Bell's system), to consecrate a burying-ground, to preside at two meetings of the district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to apply to the government for some things which are wanting, &c. &c.; so that I shall not want employment, especially as this is the season of Lent, at which much of my time will be occupied at the church. I rather regret that I cannot spare a fortnight for an excursion to the Mysore country. Hospitality is here more *Homeric* than it is in England. As soon as my arrival here (at Madras) was known, the general commanding at Arcot, whom I knew at Bombay, sent me an offer of *half his house*, and all accommodation for myself and party: and at Bangalore,

the officer in command writes to inform me, that he is maternally descended from *two bishops*, and that his wife is from a part of England with which he has reason to believe Mrs. Middleton and myself to be well acquainted. Now Arcot is nearly half way to Bangalore, in the Mysore country, so that, in fact, we should have many comforts throughout the journey: but I cannot spare the time!"

That the Bishop looked back with comfort and satisfaction to his residence at Madras, will abundantly appear from a letter he addressed from that place to his friend Mr. Ward.

Madras, March 25, 1819.

My dear Friend,

Mrs. Middleton has, I believe, already apprised you of our safe arrival, and of our future intended movements. We find our trip thus far very pleasant, and the change of air and scene has done us both good. I preach to a numerous congregation every Sunday, and sometimes twice; though that is very exhausting in such a climate. To-day I have been holding my visitation: and the day before yesterday I confirmed 317 persons, being about forty-five more than on the former occasion; a finer spectacle of the kind has seldom been witnessed. You have, I know, a taste for architecture; and the church is one of the handsomest I have ever seen: nine Ionic columns on each side support the roof; and the

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chunam is so smooth and bright, as not to be immediately distinguishable from marble. Such a building could not be exhibited to greater advantage than on such an occasion; the greatest decency and order prevailed; and the young persons presented to me were of all ranks, from the children of the governor, to the orphans of common soldiers. After the confirmation, I addressed the young people at some length; and having had the address printed, I caused copies to be distributed among them before I dismissed them. Scenes like these, especially in this country, have a benign effect even upon those who are not immediately concerned in them; and certainly the increasing attention among our own people to the ordinances and duties of religion, has a tendency to recommend Christianity, and is not unobserved by the natives. If what is now going on had been set on foot forty or fifty years ago, India would have been in a different state: but then, instead of any thing being done to promote religion, the whole system was such as to operate to the discredit of the Christian name. I much regret that my duties here will not permit us to go out on a short excursion into the Mysore. Bangalore, our principal station in the former dominions of Tippoo, is about 200 miles from Madras, on a high table-land, resting on the eastern and western Ghauts, and as temperate probably as the south of France. As soon as our arrival here was known, I received

an invitation to Arcot, nearly half-way to Bangalore, from the general commanding there, whom I had known at Bombay, offering us his house, and every accommodation and facility; and the same post brought me a letter from the officer commanding at Bangalore, excusing himself for thus addressing a stranger, but informing me that his wife thought I had once resided in Lincolnshire, with which county she was well acquainted, being the daughter of a baronet, who used to reside for a part of the year in the neighbourhood of Gainsborough; and that she would have much pleasure in talking over matters which might be familiar to both of us. I know not how this lady had traced the bishop of Calcutta to the curate of Gainsborough; but it is curious enough, that the woods of Sowerby, her father's seat, (whom, however, I did not know,) were my favourite haunt during the summer of the year that I resided at Gainsborough. There, in a shady recess, where no human being but myself ever intruded, I made myself a seat between three trees; and there, in pensive mood, would I sit for hours together. After a lapse of seven and twenty years, the spot, I dare say, is no longer to be traced; but how wonderful, that after such a lapse of time, the scene should thus be revived in my recollection on the shores of Coromandel!

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

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In addition to the gratifying labour of the confirmation, the Bishop, during his visit to this presidency, directed and invigorated the operations of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; he exerted himself, with good hope of success, to excite the Vepery press to more than its former activity; he likewise visited the Vepery mission, and dispatched to the parent Society, a statement of its present condition, accompanied with an urgent representation of the necessity for an increase of missionaries. With the native Christians he held a conference of considerable length; and having heard that they still celebrated weddings with processions and music, precisely similar to those in use among their heathen neighbours, he seized the opportunity of administering a paternal admonition against this practice; and represented to them that Christians could not, without scandal, retain the usages of superstition and idolatry.

It may not be improper to mention, in this place, that from a subsequent letter of the Bishop's to Dr. Gaskin, dated 14th of February, 1820, it appears he had the satisfaction to learn that, through the exertions of the missionary Dr. Rottler, this admonition was, at last, effectual, that the objectionable practices were abandoned, and that harmony was restored to the congregation. The rest of the Bishop's time was chiefly occupied, as he had anticipated,

in the visitation of his clergy (to whom he delivered the same charge of which an abstract has been already given), in the inspection of the Male Asylum, and its system of instruction, in the consecration of a church and burying-grounds, and in the composition of a memorial to the Madras government, urging the necessity of a church at Vepery, and an augmentation in the number of chaplains. It is gratifying to know that his representations respecting the former of these objects were not in vain; and that, since his death, the mission church at Vepery has been completed, partly by a donation of 2,000*l.* from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and partly by a grant from the East India Company. CHAP. XVIII. 1819.

It has appeared above, that the circumstance which compelled the Bishop to deny himself the pleasure of an excursion to the Mysore, was the necessity of going, without delay, to the island of Penang. His interesting and somewhat perilous navigation to that spot is fully described by him to his friend Mr. Ward:

Pulo Penang, May 5, 1819.

My dear Friend,

Though I wrote to you from Madras about six weeks ago, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of writing to you from the Straits of Malacca: the remoteness of the place and the probability

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that I shall never see it again after this visit, make me anxious that you should receive a letter from me written on the spot. In such situations, indeed, I have always felt a desire to communicate with absent friends: and, in this instance, the expectation that a ship will sail in four days direct for England makes the impulse irresistible. Look then in your map for this Isle of Betel Nut (so the Malay name signifies), otherwise Prince of Wales's Island, in long. 100° east, and lat. 5° north: there was I sitting, when this letter was written, amidst some of the finest scenery in the world. Fronting me, at the distance of 100 yards from my house, are the Straits, about two miles wide, and beyond them a range of mountains in the dominions of the king of Queda, a feudatory of the emperor of Siam: their summits, at this moment, (10 *a. m.*) are capt in the clouds, which the sun has not yet had power to dissipate. Close upon my left are masses of wood, piled up on the sides of lofty hills, which slope down to the edge of the water: and on my right is the town, the fort, and the shipping, concealed, however, by an exuberance of trees: in short, whichever way I turn, I have never seen nature in greater beauty. But the price which I have paid for coming hither demanded some compensation: our passage from Madras was by no means pleasant, nor wholly free from danger. We left the roads with

a fair breeze off the land, but the next morning the wind proved adverse, varying from E. to S.E. and of course directly heading us. On the fifth day we found ourselves about 100 miles N.E. of Trincomalee in Ceylon. We had experienced severe squalls for two or three days past, but on the evening of the 20th, my captain told us that something worse was coming, and that we must prepare for a bad night. Every moment the appearance became more threatening; and at half-past six, just as it grew dark, orders were given for dead lights in the poop cabins, and to set the storm-sail. In the mean time the wind blew furiously with rain, thunder, and lightning; and the ship laboured exceedingly: all was noise on board, though I believe there was no confusion. Whilst I was endeavouring to comfort Mrs. Middleton, commending her and my party to the protection of Providence, our little dog jumped upon her lap, as if fully impressed with the terror of the scene, trembling in every joint. The gale still continued, and at four in the morning was at the worst: we were then in a storm of hail, not very usual in these latitudes, and the ship was almost on her beam-ends. I got out on deck and asked the gunner, the first man I met, whether we might hope the wind would abate at daylight; he replied, "Daylight would make no difference; a gale of this sort always lasts four-and-twenty hours:" and with

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little variation he was right. About six in the evening it abated, though the weather was still squally; but the squalls were now in our favour; the S.W. monsoon had set in, and what we had encountered was the commencement or change. By staying at Madras till the middle of April, I had hoped to escape this; but the change this year has been unusually late. We were now to steer for the Nicobar Islands, and to pass round the north side of Car Nicobar: here again was a cause of some little solicitude; for our rate of sailing would bring us amidst a cluster of islands and rocks in the middle of a dark night. Our captain, however, sailed off and on, and very skilfully contrived to have Car Nicobar about fifteen miles a head at break of day. At 10 *a. m.* we had got well round to the northern shore, and not more than one mile and a half distant. Ships frequently stop here for refreshments, and the people are said to be well disposed: but learning that it was their custom to come on board in great numbers, and armed, I desired the captain not to anchor, but to pass on. We had, however, a delightful view of the island for more than two hours: it has no grand scenery, but presents the appearance of great fertility, and abounds in beautiful situations, and slopes, from the sea, of the softest green I ever beheld. The native villages appeared to consist of about half a dozen houses each, stuck in

recesses upon the beach. The houses are of the form of bee-hives, and like them are raised from the ground upon piles or stakes: the entrance is said to be by a hole in the floor. I observed several of the inhabitants running about, dragging their canoes. From Car Nicobar our course lay towards Pulo Bouton, not far from the Malay coast, which is usually made by ships going to Penang. In this neighbourhood pirates occasionally shew themselves; and they never spare those whom they get into their power. On the morning of the day before we reached this place, at about 10 *a. m.* a sail was seen ahead: she was observed to change her course repeatedly, from which it was inferred, that she was not a trader, but a cruiser of some sort: at twelve we neared her, and hoisted our colours, but we could not perceive that she took any notice of them: she still, however, lay in our way, and her conduct was quite inexplicable. We fired a shot at her, an eighteen pounder, which happily missed her. Still she took no notice, but tacked and stood in our course. It was now thought necessary by our captain and his officers to prepare for our defence: we had only two guns, and about nine or ten muskets; these were ordered to be loaded, and all hands to be on deck. But, unfortunately, we were becalmed, and could not stir, and night was coming on. This was the worst part of our case: whatever

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was our danger, it would in a dark night be increased tenfold. My situation was now rather anxious; and Mrs. Middleton's being with me rendered it much more so; although she behaved with great composure. Providentially, however, about five o'clock, a strong breeze sprung up in our favour. I then desired the captain to bear down upon our antagonist, and to bring the question to an issue, while we had daylight. In twenty minutes we were alongside the strange vessel to windward, and within pistol-shot. Our defence was to have been to have fired the leeward gun, and then to have turned the helm, and run our enemy down: we might have suffered in the shock, but that was our only resource. She turned out, however, to be a trader bound from Rangoon, in Pegu, to Penang, and without any hostile purpose, though her conduct was by no means explained. It was now two hours and a half past dinner time; but we sat down very thankful for being thus relieved from our uneasiness.

On the evening of the next day we were at anchor in this beautiful harbour: and some gentlemen came on board to arrange for our landing on the next morning, and going to breakfast with the governor, at his seat, about three miles up the country. On the way, I very narrowly escaped an overturn: one of the horses being taken ill, became ungovernable; I was obliged

to alight during a heavy shower, but was fortunately relieved from my disagreeable position by a gentleman who was going to meet me at breakfast. On Sunday last Mrs. Middleton had a narrow escape from a similar accident on her way to church, both horses having turned round, and got into a ditch. Thus much for adventures. I hope it will please God to give us a safe passage to Bengal, which, however, I find we cannot expect to accomplish in less than eighteen or twenty days: and even then only half my visitation will be performed, Ceylon and Bombay remaining for the latter end of the year. How long I shall be able to go on with these laborious duties, I know not; but they require a considerable degree of strength. Mrs. Middleton and myself were a good deal shattered on our arrival, after such a passage, and some sleepless nights: but we are beginning to recruit. Her health and life are to me almost every thing: she is my constant companion, and I should be nothing without her. Adieu! my dear friend: our united love to Mrs. Ward and the family.

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

The incidents of his visitation to this island will be best described in his own words to Mr. Norris, in a letter dated, Calcutta, June 18, 1819:

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"The name of Penang is, perhaps, less familiar to you than that of Madras. It is the same with Prince of Wales's Island, and you will find it in the straits of Malacca, in long. 100° 21′ E. and lat. 5° 11′ N. A more beautiful and romantic spot I have never seen. There the Company has a governor and a small establishment, and they have lately built a church. The European population is not more than seventeen or eighteen families. The church has now been consecrated, and an English bishop has holden a confirmation in that remote part of the world: the number was twenty-six, very considerable for so small a society. I preached there on the subject of the Queen's death, and her Majesty's memory has not, I believe, been honoured in this way further eastward; and before I left the place, I established the "Penang and Bencoolen district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," so that now we have a fifth committee in India, and no place is left at which it would be possible, or of the *least use*, to raise your standard. Even at Penang the field of action must for the present be very limited; still, however, I consider it as a matter eventually of some importance to have gained a footing, and to have erected a *Bartlett's Buildings* so far to the eastward. There are a good many Christians scattered among the neighbouring islands, and Christianity may extend in that quarter; and a

favourable circumstance of the case is, that I there met with Sir Thomas Raffles, who is lieutenant-governor of Bencoolen, and a man of great activity and influence in those parts, and he promised me his cordial co-operation, upon which I think I may depend. I made it, therefore, a committee for Penang and *Bencoolen*, where Sir Thomas Raffles will procure a few members. As to Penang, I obtained the support of every gentleman there, from the governor downwards. A donation of 50*l.* from the governor, on behalf of the Company, enabled us to remit 150*l.* and to leave a small balance in hand, and this balance was subsequently increased by a donation on the part of Sir Thomas Raffles to the same amount, to be charged to the Company. It was impossible, therefore, to set out under better auspices. The difficulty will be, as it is, in all these matters, to find activity and energy to keep the machine going. . . . . On the last Sunday of my stay at Penang, which was eighteen days, I addressed the congregation upon local matters: at the governor's request, I shall print my sermon, and send him copies to distribute on the same occasion. I administered the sacrament as a sort of pastoral farewell to a Christian flock whom I can never visit again: thirty persons communicated with me. These, indeed, are incidents of no great importance, but I know that you can enter into the spirit of them. . . . . :

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"Your mention of the National Society reminds me that I have been using my endeavours to promote the use of Dr. Bell's system, both at Madras and Penang. *At the former place, where it originated, it is nearly lost,* and at the other, nothing is known of it, except the name; so I have recommended (and I believe my recommendation will be followed) to have an English master sent for to Madras, and the master at Penang sent to this place, to get the system from the free-school. The school at Penang, like your new committee there, is interesting from its situation; it is an advanced post to the eastward. I devoted a day to examining the children, and giving them rewards, (a task, by the way, which I must perform at the free-school on Wednesday next,) the children there (at Penang) are of all sorts, half-castes, Mahometans from the coast of Coromandel, Malays, and Chinese; and one little man came from the Celebes, and in point of ability was equal to any of them. He had been sent as a present to the governor, and fortunately is in good hands. The children are all quick. Penang is a fine spot for a school, and for diffusing civilization. I hope to get my school into better order, as far as this can be done by influencing those who are on the spot. A flourishing school and a flourishing Promoting Christian Knowledge committee there, would in time become a blessing to the whole Eastern Archipelago. Perhaps

missionaries might be useful there. Some independents from Malacca arrived a little before me. They profess to have no object but native schools. It is curious that in every corner of Asia you find the Church of Rome. There are many Catholics at Penang; *and a Romish bishop (the bishop of Siam) was on his visitation there at the same time with myself.*" Surely the Protestant government of England will be *provoked to* a godly *jealousy* by this last fact! Surely they will not much longer endure to consign their vast dominions to the care of one solitary and overlaboured prelate, while the delegates of the Supreme Pontiff are giving to his power a sort of omnipresence throughout the East!

When viewed with reference to their situations, those eastern settlements seem to offer peculiar advantages for the labours of Christian philanthropy. Bordering close on the shores of the Malay peninsula, and maintaining a frequent intercourse with China, they appear to present an entrance through which the Gospel may, in process of time, win its way to lands now wrapped in the darkness of idolatry.

The discourse with which the Bishop bade farewell to this interesting station was printed at the request of the governor, Colonel Bannerman. It is a very simple, but deeply impressive and solemn address. Its text is Philip. i. 27, "Only let your conversation be as becometh

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the Gospel of Christ," &c. Having shortly adverted to the circumstances under which this epistle was written, the preacher proceeds to remark, that this and similar passages could not be heard by them without some application of them to the condition of persons in India. "There are, however," he added, "circumstances in this Christian settlement which impart to it a more than ordinary interest. What was this island only a few years since, but a blank in the moral creation?" Its hills and forests served only to exhibit to the mariner a scene of wild and cheerless grandeur: no associations dear to the mind were awakened at the approach: the charities and the arts of civilized life were here unknown: here man, even in his rudest state, had no fixed abode: How altered is now the scene! A numerous and increasing population; an active and beneficent government; streets resounding with the occupations of industry; cultivated fields, and thriving plantations; residences bespeaking comfort and opulence; our arts, our language, and our laws, introduced into the remote corner of the East. These surprising changes invite reflection, and cannot be contemplated with indifference. But what is even more to my purpose to remark, and without which, all else were unsubstantial, our Holy Faith is here established, to guide those who know the truth, and to be *a light to lighten*

the Gentiles, if haply they may be turned from their vanities to serve the living God." Having then explained the words of the Apostle, and remarked that, properly understood, they pointed not merely to the individual walk of Christians, but to their lives and principles as members of a social body, he proceeded to consider what are the principles which distinguish a Christian society; and he summed up this part of his discourse by observing, that in such a society, the truth is received and honored *as it is in Jesus*; that all holy ordinances are revered, while secular duties are not neglected; that the Sabbath is really solemnised as a day of holy rest; that they who rule are just and beneficent, while they who are governed yield a cheerful submission; that the relation between the pastor and his flock, is maintained in parental vigilance on the one hand, and affectionate respect on the other; that the rich are liberal, and the poor thankful; that institutions for the relief of misery are well patronised, *and what is much less common, well superintended*; that a friendly intercourse prevails among those of the same class; and that men of every condition faithfully endeavour to discharge the duties assigned them by Providence, whether they be eminent or humble. "I say not," he adds, "that such a community is every where to be found; but this I

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say, that any thing short of it, becometh not the Gospel of Christ."

But, secondly, the Apostle was anxious that his people should *stand fast in one spirit.* Even so was it *his* predominant solicitude that this *little flock* might, by God's grace, resist any attempt to divide it. But, he added, though unity is precious in the sight of God, and lovely in the eyes of man, yet it must be remembered that religious unity supposes that we are really religious, and that better are differences, where all are in earnest, than the mere semblance of Christian agreement, where the great and vital doctrines of the Gospel are forgotten. Against such dangers, however, they were amply provided. They could be in no danger of lukewarmness, as to the doctrines of redemption and grace, so long as they valued the liturgy of the national Church; neither could there be any fear of disunion, while they reverenced her primitive government and discipline.

But, lastly, the Apostle insists on the necessity of *zeal,* as well as faith and unity. He desires that *they strive together for the faith of the Gospel;* an injunction which could not be more effectually obeyed than by an open and consistent profession of the Gospel; by a regular and devout attendance on its public ordinances; by training the children of the poor in the

nurture and admonition of the Lord; and by the support of every design for supplying instruction to the ignorant, and consolation to the miserable. Two institutions they had among them dedicated to these holy purposes, their national school, and their recently established district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. By their zealous patronage of these institutions they might, in truth, most effectually and most blessedly *strive together for the faith of the Gospel!*

In conclusion, he said, "vast as is the extent of this diocese, and various as are the duties imposed on me, I must not hope, even if life be spared me for some years to come, to be an eye-witness of your progress. But though absent, I shall endeavour *to hear of your affairs;* and I trust that what I shall hear will afford me satisfaction and comfort; that so my visit to this place may be associated in my mind with something even more gratifying than your personal attention and kindness—I mean your advancement as a Christian community, and the probable extension, through your means, of the Gospel of Christ. We will now proceed to the table of our Redeemer: to which, as being on the point of leaving you, I have called you by a special invitation, there to draw closer the bands of Christian love, and to ask the succours

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of Divine grace, that we may in all things approve ourselves to God our Saviour."

Such were the words wherewith their spiritual father endeavoured to build up this little commonwealth in righteousness and peace. Happy will it be for them if those words should never be forgotten. They were the last he ever addressed to them. He bade them farewell, and they saw his face no more.

Bishop Middleton had originally intended to have proceeded from hence on his visitation to Bombay and Ceylon, but the favourable season for such a voyage was now passing away; and he was anxious to return to Calcutta, not only on account of much ordinary business, but in expectation of a reply from London to his proposition for a missionary college; which, if approved by the Society, he would immediately commence, by making the first arrangements for the building, before he visited the western parts of his diocese.

Towards the end of May, the Bishop returned from this excursion. His voyage back had been attended with much fatigue and imminent danger, and placed in a more formidable point of view than ever the discharge of the episcopal duties in this country, and *the absolute necessity of their division.* "They expose me," he very naturally and truly remarks, in the same letter,

to all the privations and dangers of a *sea-faring life*. In the winter I must go to Ceylon and Bombay; and thither and back again is a voyage of 5,000 miles, considerably more than the passage across the Atlantic; *so that in one visitation I shall have sailed between* 8,000 *and* 9,000 *miles, which is more than half the voyage to England!* It will be utterly impossible for me to proceed in this manner to the end of my term, unless it be shortened." This impossibility will appear still more striking, when we reflect, that a bishop of India, when he returns from the harassing pilgrimage of a visitation, must return not to repose and relaxation, but to an encounter with difficulties, which have been swelling to a formidable accumulation during his long absence. The cessation of bodily exhaustion is, consequently, followed only by a more severe demand on the mental energies. The weariness of flesh and spirit do but succeed and aggravate each other. The Bishop, accordingly, on his arrival at Calcutta, found abundant reason to deplore the necessity which removed him, for any length of time, from his metropolis. The *res dura et regni novitas* required his continual presence at his post. Every protracted interruption of his personal superintendence, grievously retarded his designs, and impaired his hope of ever giving to the religious movements of his diocese, the full advantage of uniformity and concentration.

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It is true, that during his absence from Calcutta, he was most ably and faithfully represented by Dr. Loring, archdeacon of that presidency; a man of such amiable temper, and substantial excellence of character, as to command the respect of the clergy, and secure the good-will of all classes of society. The mind of Bishop Middleton must have been greatly relieved by knowing that he left the ecclesiastical concerns at the seat of government, under so vigilant, accomplished, and estimable a guardian. This, however, was, after all, only a mitigation of the mischief. There were many evils inseparable from his absence, to which even the virtues and talents of his delegate could supply but a very imperfect remedy.

CHAPTER XIX.

Circumstances connected with the foundation of St. James's church and school—Death and character of archdeacon Mousley—Monument to his memory at Madras—Death of Colonel Bannerman—Letter to archdeacon Watson—Communication from Rev. Mr. Marsden, chaplain in New South Wales—Letter to Dr. Gaskin—Extracts of two letters to Mr. Ward.

On the Bishop's return from Penang, after arranging such business as awaited his decision, one chief object of attention was a design of the greatest usefulness and importance. It is here necessary to premise that, in the months of February and March, 1817, the Bishop had circulated an account of the then distressed state of the Royal Danish mission at Tranquebar, with the view of raising a subscription for its immediate relief, and also of gaining time to ascertain whether, in the event of a complete failure of its resources in Europe, an arrangement might not be made in England for transferring the Danish mission to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Every gentleman to whom the paper was submitted became a

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liberal subscriber; and a sum was placed at the Bishop's disposal amounting to sicca rupees 4,050. Out of this fund the Bishop continued to make remittances to Tranquebar, as occasion required, for about thirteen months; after which the missionaries reported an amendment in their circumstances, sufficient to justify the Bishop in withholding any further remittances, at least for the present, and until they should again be applied for: but still he had no certain assurance till recently, that the Danish government at home had resolved to re-establish the ancient resources of the mission, and to place it in future, beyond the need of casual support in India. Such appeared to be the substance of a statement made by the bishop of Zealand to the bishop of London, who had been requested by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to correspond with the Danish bishop on the subject of a transfer. On this it became the duty of the Bishop to apprise the subscribers that, including interest, there remained a surplus, above the sums advanced by him in aid of the mission, amounting to nearly 300*l.* which would revert to the subscribers or their representatives, in the proportion of their respective contributions; and which he was prepared to refund accordingly. This balance, however, the subscribers declined to receive, and placed it generally at the disposal of the Bishop for cha-

ritable purposes. In addition to this sum, the Bishop had at his command a legacy of 500*l.* which had been left him in the course of the preceding year, by an officer, named Captain Henry Oake, who had lately died up the country, "for the use and benefit of the Christian poor of Calcutta, in any way his lordship might deem most eligible and proper." The manner in which he proposed to appropriate this, will be seen in the following extract from a letter to Mr. Norris, dated Calcutta, September 4, 1819:

. . . . . "The object of my visit to the Governor-general was to get a small spot in the heart of Calcutta for a *National Day School;* and this I am to have immediately. I hope to begin building next month, after the rains. *I have a legacy, for charitable purposes, of* 500*l. and a balance of about* 300*l. from the Tranquebar fund;* and a friend has promised 100*l.* or 200*l.* more, if wanted for my building; and I expect the diocesan committee to pay the master. And thus I hope we shall have a school in the midst of the poorest Christian population of Calcutta."

The population here alluded to consisted chiefly of native Indo-British inhabitants of the suburbs of Calcutta, the children of British fathers and Asiatic mothers: a class who were rapidly increasing in numbers and importance.

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By their distance from the existing churches, and by the appropriation of the sittings there, these multitudes were unhappily shut out from the exercise of public worship; while the want of regular schools for their instruction, either left them in total ignorance, or else exposed them to the danger of imbibing principles of hostility to the government, and of alienation from the national communion. The Bishop was strongly impressed with the conviction that the progress of Christianity, especially among the half-castes, or country-born, in connection with order and submission to lawful authority, as taught in the Established Church, would be among the firmest safeguards of the British power. He, consequently, felt it incumbent on him to make a forcible appeal to the marquess of Hastings, in behalf of these people; and suggested to his lordship the plan of erecting, in the suburbs, a free church expressly for their accommodation, the sittings of which should be entirely open, and also a charity-school for their education, upon the principles of the National Society in England. To both these proposals that enlightened nobleman immediately gave his most cordial and effective support. By an order of the Governor-general in council a sufficient portion of land was granted for the site of a church and church-yard in the eastern suburbs of Calcutta,

on a plot of ground called the Gao Khanu[1], a little to the south of the Madrissa or Mussulman college. At the same time, another spot adjoining the former was conveyed to the Bishop of Calcutta and his successors for ever, by a formal deed of gift, for the purpose of erecting there a charity-school, for the benefit of the same class of persons. It is this school to which the Bishop alludes in this letter, and which was afterwards completed by the name of St. James's school. On the 15th of November, in the following year, (1820) the Bishop laid the first stone of the church, to the honour of God, and of his Holy Apostle, St. James, being attended and assisted on this gratifying occasion, by his private chaplain, Mr. Hawtayne, by the venerable archdeacon Loring, and the rest of his clergy; by Major Phipps, superintendant of the public buildings in the lower provinces, the architect of the church; by Lieutenant Charles Paton his assistant; with several of the principal members of the Society, and a large assemblage of ladies. The progress of the building was, unfortunately, slow, and the Bishop was not spared to witness the completion of this blessed work. When it was finished, Mr. Hawtayne, was licensed to the service of it, a duty which he performed with an

[1] Or "*cow establishment*;" a place where the police establishment of bullocks was kept.

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activity and zeal which entitle him to grateful and honourable commemoration.

In the letter last quoted the Bishop mentions two melancholy occurrences which gave a severe shock to his spirits, struggling as they were against the oppression of accumulating responsibilities. "Three months," (September 5, 1819,) he says, "have not yet elapsed since I returned from my visitation of Madras and Penang, and the two persons with whom I had most intercourse at these places, respectively, (one of them certainly) is now no more. I speak of archdeacon Mousley and governor Bannerman. Of the death of the former I expect to hear every hour, as accounts just received state that he might live a day or two longer, but that his mind was gone: and intelligence from Penang, brought this morning, states that Colonel Bannerman has died of a fever. These are very severe blows to me! Dr. Mousley was one of the most amiable men I have ever known, a zealous and conscientious churchman, a scholar and a gentleman, and so much beloved and respected, that great deference was paid to him even by those who differed from him in certain points." The decease of both these estimable men was announced by the Bishop to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in the following language, in a letter dated Calcutta, September 21, 1819:

. . . . . "The Society will hear, I doubt not, with deep regret, of the loss which itself and the Church in India have recently sustained, in the death of Dr. Mousley, archdeacon of Madras. He was a man of no common endowments; considerable as a scholar and divine—very eminent as an Orientalist—conscientiously and affectionately attached to the Church of England—of sound and solid judgment—of sedate yet earnest piety—and blessed with a serenity of mind, and a meekness of deportment, such as I have rarely known. This good and amiable man expired, after a short illness, on the 31st of August, aged 47; and the honours paid to his memory, on the day of his funeral, evinced how highly his worth was appreciated by people of every rank at Madras. By myself his loss must long be felt. He was my zealous yet discreet coadjutor in an important part of my charge.

"The name of Colonel Bannerman is less familiar, probably, to the Society. He was governor of Prince of Wales's Island, or Penang: and he gave me his ready and cordial support in forming a district committee for Penang and Bencoolen, of which also he became the president. A letter, written to me but a month before his death, assured me of his attention to that and other objects in which he knew that I took an interest. In a country where

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good has not yet acquired the stability of system, but is wholly dependent on the activity and influence of individuals, such losses are very discouraging: as, indeed, is the condition of society here, from its being, independently of deaths, in a state of continual fluctuation and change."

Another communication of the Bishop's, dated Calcutta, December 4, 1819, to the Society, will shew the manner in which it was soon proposed to commemorate the excellence and usefulness of the deceased archdeacon.

. . . . . "I believe I mentioned to you in a former letter the loss which this branch of the national Church has sustained in the death of archdeacon Mousley. A subscription has been raised for a monument to his memory, to be erected in St. George's Church at Madras. A committee has been appointed to conduct this business, and they will be enabled to remit 300*l.* to London, with a sufficient reserve for contingent expenses." . . . . . .

The Bishop kindly aided this design by furnishing the following Latin inscription for the monument, to be be executed by Flaxman, and which was afterwards fixed in the principal church at Madras; thus honouring in his death the man whom he had found a faithful and invaluable auxiliary during his life.

Hoc. marmore.
Viri. venerandi. JOHANNIS. MOUSLEY. S.T.P.
Collegii. Balliolensis. olim. Socii.
Primi. Archidiaconi. Madrasensis.
Memoriam. servandam. voluit.
Suamque. pietatem. tradendam. posteris.
Cœtus. Christianorum. Madrasensium.
Is. fuit. oris. vultusque. habitus.
Ea. sermonis. et. gestus. verecundia.
Quæ. divinius. quiddam. et. vere. Christianum.
Præ. se. ferebat.
Eruditio. varia.
In. literis. sacris. sane. magna.
In. orientalibus. summa.
Ad. vitam. umbratilem. natura. comparatus.
Ad. negotia. tamen. nec. segnis. nec inhabilis
Judicium. sanum. exquisitum. perspicax.
Mens. constans. rectique. tenax.
Ecclesiæ. Anglicanæ. si. quis. alius.
Fidus. alumnus.
Cujus. jura. et. auctoritatem.
Ea. sustinuit. comitate. et. prudentia.
Ut. apud. invidos. invidiam. non. conflarit.
Faventes. acriore. studio. devinxerit.
Lethali. ingravescente. morbo.
Summis. doloribus. affectus.
Nihil. se. pati. professus. est.
Nisi. quod. juvante. Deo.
Saluti. conduceret. æternæ.
Animam. Christo. reddidit.
Die. XXXI. Augusti.
Anno. Redemptoris. MDCCCXIX.
Ætatis. XLVIII.

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The appointment of a successor to the archdeaconry rested with the Bishop, and this was the first occasion on which he had been called on to exercise this, the only patronage permitted him. It was allowed him to select any one of the Company's chaplains in India; but he thought it right, in this instance, to make his selection at Madras. The chaplain, however, so nominated, was to recommence a period of fifteen years residence in India, to entitle him to the archdeacon's pension. No provision was, as yet, made for considering any former term of service as a chaplain. It was not easy, therefore, to find a clergyman, who had resided any time in India, willing to forego the advantages to which he would be entitled in the Company's service, and to commence a fresh term of so long a period. To appoint a very young man, and place him at the head of the clergy, would evidently be highly inconvenient. After some delay, the Bishop nominated the Rev. Edward Vaughan, the senior chaplain at Madras, who had already completed the term of service required by the Company, and whose health being good, felt no objection to a longer residence in India.

In the letter to Mr. Norris, already cited, (after dwelling, in detail, upon a variety of perplexing questions, of an ecclesiastical description, respecting which he was left so entirely

destitute of assistance and advice as *to "feel as if he were sent on a forlorn hope,"*)—the Bishop concludes with expressing some anxiety as to the probability of his obtaining leave of absence for a time, in case the state of his health should render it necessary. "It is right," he says, "that I should enquire, and provide against the contingency of its being indispensable to save life." And independently of this, he adds, "*I am convinced I could do more for India in one year passed in England, than in five passed here.* In truth, the period of service of the first bishop ought to be thus divided: a part of it for reconnoitring and gaining information which is not to be had in England—a visit to England, in which this information should lead to a right system—and a second residence in India to carry the system into effect. And then, the second bishop would find his course tolerably smooth, and his whole time might be dedicated to pastoral and missionary duties, *instead of wasting himself in constant struggles to stand his ground.*"

The following extract from a letter of the Bishop's to Mr. Clarke, (the incomparable secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at Madras) is inserted here, both for the purpose of shewing the constant and lively interest with which the Bishop watched over the southern missions, and of doing justice to the

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amiable and worthy chaplain, Mr. Hough, who was labouring in the same cause.

Calcutta, October 26, 1819.

The Society, I conceive, are under much obligation to Mr. Hough for the attention which he has paid to their concerns in Tinnevelly; and very gratifying, no doubt, will be the representation which he has furnished of the happy state of the native Christians in the district within his observation. But still more valuable is the testimony of such an observer, as it holds out an incentive to Christian zeal, by pointing to its actual and blessed fruits. Mr. Hough's suggestions for the improvement of the condition of Christians seem very deserving of attention; and in those which require only the payment of a moderate sum, I would venture to anticipate the Society, if my balance of credit with them, or even more, were not already pledged.

T. F. Calcutta.

In this same month, October, 1819, the Bishop addressed a very long letter to his friend archdeacon Watson, full of the animation inspired by the project of a mission college, which then had complete possession of his mind. This letter embraces a multitude of details, which may be more advantageously noticed in the sequel of this narrative. There are, however, some portions of it which could not be omitted here

without injustice to the ardent piety, and enlightened zeal, which then gave life to his exertions in behalf of this great design. It will, of course, be recollected that, at this time, he was not apprised of the splendid support which his project received in England. CHAP. XIX. 1819.

"I have already hinted that the college should be a joint concern of the two Societies: but I speak not merely with a reference to the alleviation of the burthen; such a junction would give it additional dignity and efficiency, as it would then be a monument erected by the two great Church Societies, and would carry with it the weight of their combined influence. But even that is not the whole; upon what ostensible ground can the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge keep back? especially after the grand *exposé* of her views given by Dr. Wordsworth [1]. Let the missionaries of both Societies issue from the same school, it will produce an unity of design; all will have passed through the same noviciates, they will be known to each other and to their head; and by their communicating with each other, and with the master of their college, we shall gain such a body of information, the result of individual experience, as has not, perhaps, ever yet been brought together, and which is of the highest

[1] Charge to Messrs Haubroe and Rosen before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, January 29, 1819.

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importance in a plan of extensive operations. . . . . Something, indeed, of this sort must be done upon any plan; but to be done with any great effect, we must act upon a large scale, and it is in the power of the two Societies, to act upon a scale, such as is hitherto quite unexampled in the *Protestant* world; for, *Protestants* as we are, it were bigotry to deny that the *Church of Rome*, (notwithstanding that she may have exaggerated her successes) has done wonders in the East; and we must consent in this, as in other things "*ab hoste doceri.*" But it is not *merely* with reference to India that I recommend this plan, nor am I unmindful of the resources which it will demand; they will be considerable, but you will obtain them. Such an undertaking will tend to exalt the Church throughout the empire. It will not only remove a reproach, whether just or unjust,—it will do more—it will place her in an attitude such as no Protestant Church has assumed, and which will not have the less effect from being unexpected. Subscriptions, and donations, and legacies, will, no doubt, come in, in support of a collegiate missionary establishment in India. Already, I think, I collect from the periodical publications, that, though nothing specific was, or would be, known in March or April last as to the course of proceedings, the Church seems to have risen in estimation, from its being evident that something would be done. I see, with satisfaction, addresses

in her behalf from quarters where, perhaps, it was not to be expected. CHAP. XIX. 1819.

"But now let me remark, though at the hazard of repetition, that money will do nothing *without men.* We must have able instruments, such as I endeavoured to describe in my letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; or, more concisely, *with heads full of sense, and hearts full of zeal.* Weak men would be absolutely good for nothing: of course, I mean not merely those whose weakness is very obvious, but men, who cannot deliberate and observe, and adapt measures to circumstances. They should also have some literary talent: they will be required to learn languages, to compose elementary treatises, and to translate the Scriptures. But still all the good sense in the world, and talents the most powerful, will do nothing without an inextinguishable ardour in this holy cause. *They must account it gain, though at any cost, to be the means of bringing over men to Christ.* All their talents, and all their understanding, must converge, as it were, to that one point; it must be the focus of all their deliberations, and endeavours, and desires: and I would venture to suggest that a little excess on the side of zeal, should be no disqualification. *We must all of us, more or less, be animated by a missionary spirit.* As to myself, though I do not preach to the heathen, I am ready always

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to give an answer to any of them that ask me; and encourage such visits, as far as my positive engagements will allow. Send me out then, at least, *two* clergymen of the Church of England, as *soon as possible*, and *three* if you can, to be the master and professors. If a letter should come, authorising me to begin building, the college will be finished by the time they could have made much progress in Hindoostanee and Bengalee, even though they come out within three months after my letter. I would take care to provide them accommodation. Pray urge this point among your friends, not forgetting your valuable brother. I rejoice to see in some of the magazines, that a legacy of 20,000*l.* three per cents. has been left to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by a clergymen in Essex. Surely some part of this will come to India!"

Another extract from this letter will shew that, although New South Wales was not yet within his diocese, as it subsequently was[1], the Bishop of Calcutta was not wholly without opportunities of being useful, even to that remote settlement.

. . . . . "I have lately had a letter from the Rev. Mr. Marsden (the chaplain at Sidney) applying chiefly for school-books. I shall, therefore, on Monday next, move that he be

[1] By letters-patent, October 2, 1814, 5 Geo. IV.

supplied with the National Society books, and we shall thus, I trust, do some good even at Botany Bay. . . . . Mr. Marsden says, the greatest boon I could bestow upon that settlement would be a good schoolmaster. But he says nothing about the means of supporting one, nor whether Governor Macquarrie would receive and uphold him, without which, the attempt would be useless. It would certainly be a fine thing to have the national system there in full force. Mr. Marsden tells me there are in the colony 5000 children, born of European parents, and at present under the tuition of very incompetent, and not very moral teachers. I will not lose sight of this matter, though I do not, at a single glance, see how it is to be managed. Mr. Marsden writes like a man who will readily and thankfully accept any assistance from me; so that I do not expect any opposition or untowardness in that quarter. I believe, however, that New South Wales is, by courtesy, if not by law, in the diocese of London, and I am no friend to intrusion." . . . . . "I see,"—continues the Bishop—"in the Christian Observer, that the Pope is sending out an Irishman, (the Rev. Miles Prendergast) to be bishop of Malabar, *with twenty missionary priests!* This is a masterstroke of policy. An Irishman and an Englishman are, in this point of view, the same thing. We are here the dominant power; and an

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English Popish bishop will do more for the Church of Rome than a dozen Portuguese."

The subjoined extracts from a copious despatch, addressed by Bishop Middleton to Dr. Gaskin, will be perused with interest, as referring to a variety of important objects which then, and continually, demanded his care and exercised his sagacity; and more especially, as containing an ample development of his motives, for his continued urgency respecting the scheme of a mission college :—

Calcutta, November 1, 1819.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you last by the ship *Lang*, at the latter end of September; and, among other things, I stated that the 1000*l.* granted me, on credit, by the Society, on my leaving England, was nearly exhausted; and I also intimated the probability that I should be obliged to overdraw my credit, and to ask for an indemnity. The circumstances are the following. In my letter from Madras in March last, I informed the Society that I had advanced to archdeacon Twisleton 1000 rupees, to enable him to print a large edition of the book of Common Prayer in Cingalese, which is the vernacular idiom of perhaps three-fourths of the island of Ceylon. According to the estimate sent to me by archdeacon Twisleton, this sum was to defray the whole

expense; and though, perhaps, I ought to have demurred to the cheapness of the contract, which did indeed strike me at the time, I did not, (considering that full two months are required to receive an answer here from Ceylon,) make any objection, but concluded that printing might be cheaper at Ceylon than at Calcutta. When the work, however, was half completed, archdeacon Twisleton discovered that the estimate was for printing only, and that the paper would be a separate charge. The consequence is, that not less than 2500 rupees more will be wanting to complete the undertaking; and that I might perhaps have hesitated to embark in it at this expense: yet when the work has advanced so far, it is better to complete it, than that the preceding expense should be wholly thrown away. Still, however, it will be a great work for the Society to have accomplished;—1000 copies of a complete version of the Common Prayer into Cingalese, in a handsome quarto, on good paper, and, I hope, well executed. I have also made the Society instrumental to a version of the Common Prayer into Tamul,—a very beautiful book,—by taking of Dr. Rottler, the translator, copies to the amount of 120 pagodas, (48*l.*) and half that quantity on my own account, both of which I have ordered to be distributed among our native Christians in the south. Two good versions of the Common Prayer, will be a considerable contribution towards the Christian literature of

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the country; and I shall rejoice to see others, when they can conveniently be made. In my last I requested you to pay to Mr. Ward, my agent, 116*l.* 19*s.* 4½*d.* being the value of sicca rupees 935, 12*d.* paid to the Madras district committee, to enable them to set the (Vepery) press to work again. I will thank you to add to it the 48*l.* above-mentioned: and also 40*l.* 5*s.* being, as I learn from the Society's report for 1817, a contribution from certain gentlemen at Norwich, to be applied by me as I may judge most conducive to the interests of Christianity in India. This is the only intimation I have received of it. The precise application of this sum shall be notified to the Society for the information of the donors, when the appropriation shall have been made. Having passed many years of my life at Norwich, I trust that I am permitted to consider this donation somewhat in the light of a memorial of the place, and a testimony of good-will from persons, whose names, however, are not declared. These sums amounting to 205*l.* 4*s.* 4½*d.* you will be pleased to pay to Mr. Ward.

I send you, by this conveyance, copies of a correspondence with the Madras district committee, and also a very interesting letter from the Rev. Mr. Hough, the chaplain at Palamcotta, whose suggestions I beg leave to recommend to the Society, especially that which relates to sending a missionary to Palamcotta,

for which the present number of missionaries is insufficient. In truth, more missionaries should be sent out, or we may expect to be again in the same difficulties as before. Dr. Rottler is very old; Mr. Kolhoff's best years are past; and Mr. Holzbergh, I fear, is not, and never can, be efficient. For some time, till within these six months, we had a chaplain at Cuddalore, who is said to have interested himself in some schools there, which, however, have since declined; but we must expect, in the present state of this country, that where we are not in a state of activity, others will enter into our labours.

The letter of the Madras district committee addressed to me, and sent herewith, embraces some matters of importance. Upon the inadequacy of the salaries paid to our missionaries, I wrote to you from Madras. We do not, in truth, pay so well as other societies; and our missionaries may plead necessity, if they devote to other concerns a portion of their time and attention, which should be given wholly to their mission. If they do their duty, they have ample and constant employment; and I would suggest that the salaries should be raised, and that every missionary should, on his appointment, engage neither to seek nor to accept other emoluments. I would also beg leave to suggest that the salaries should be paid, not in arrear, but half

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yearly in advance; inasmuch as the missionaries cannot be expected to have any thing before hand, and all salaries in this country are received monthly: yearly and half-yearly payments in arrear are quite unknown. As to the mode of payment, it might, perhaps, be as well to pay the missionaries through the Madras district committee; and to invite the committee to suggest any consolidation of the mission funds, which they may hold to be conducive to an extension of the general benefits of the mission. It were undoubtedly ungracious to withhold from such a committee as that at Madras, (which, in point of activity and lively interest in the Society's concerns, has probably no superior,) any extension of its powers: but I am not quite sure that it would be prudent to do any thing which might give to the committee the appearance of being closely and directly connected with the conversion of the natives.

. . . . . Perhaps it might be well, in reply, to state, (supposing a new vote of credit to me) that the Bishop is empowered, by a grant of the Society, to enable the missionaries to improve their schools, to carry on the press with activity, and to aid any works in furtherance of the Society's designs, which the committee, from their local knowledge and active interest in the cause of religion may be pleased to recommend to him . . . The committee are

entitled to the highest respect, and the secretary, Mr. Clarke, is a man of great ability, and we owe much to his activity and judgment. Means will, of course, be taken for the more regular payment of the missionaries.

I am in daily expectation of hearing from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and I should rejoice to find that the two societies have concurred in the scheme which I had the honour to recommend to the former, in answer to a direct application from the secretary. My opinion from the first has been that it should be a joint concern: although I could not, with strict propriety, state this officially in my letter to Mr. Hamilton: still I am not without ground of hope, that the measure may have been suggested and adopted. Your missionary establishment in the south might thus, in a few years, supposing no difficulties to arise in the way of ordination by the bishop, become a genuine Asiatic branch of the Church of England: you might also extend your missionary exertions to other parts of India. Missionaries are wanted at this place exceedingly, if it were only to conduct, and extend our native schools; the whole labour of which falls upon my chaplain, who is also the secretary of the diocesan committee, and will shortly, I trust, be engaged also in other very important duties; though in all of them he is

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interrupted by long absence, on my visitations. It would also enable you to meet the suggestion of archdeacon Barnes, which I entirely approve, as to printing tracts in the native languages; and your district committees, which are now established from Bombay on the western side of this diocese, to the Straits of Malacca, eastward, would afford admirable facilities of distribution: the Church would thus, also, be enabled to act upon a grand scale, such as no Protestant Church has ever attempted. The first expense too of a complete missionary establishment, (probably including the printing-office, about 10,000*l.*) would, when thus divided, become light for such an establishment. I have obtained a commodious, ample, and retired site within three miles of this city; and I wait only for authority from home to begin the building. Of one thing I feel certain, (though I should offer the opinion with great diffidence, considering how very competent the Society is to form its own judgment in the case,) that a great collegiate institution, near this capital, supported by two great societies, which yet in origin and in sentiment are but one, and directed to the sole object of propagating pure Christianity and all subsidiary knowledge, and carried on by able, laborious, and pious men, yet acting within itself, and in all its ramifications, upon the same system;—such an institution, I am

firmly persuaded, would never want funds, when it was once fairly established and brought into action: and then, though not probably before, it would derive some assistance from India. . . .

We have had a larger demand for Bibles than was contemplated. Perhaps the Society will oblige us by adding to the list of books, to be sent out at the beginning of the next year, a quantity of Bibles. But Mr. Hawtayne will write to Mr. Parker on this subject. It may be satisfactory to the Society to hear that our books have been lately in great request; that a considerable quantity consigned to the Rev. Mr. Fisher, the chaplain at Meerut, near Delhi, have nearly all been sold, and that supplies have lately been voted to Penang, New South Wales, and the descendants of the mutineers of the Bounty, settled at Pitcairn's Island, in the Pacific Ocean.

I am, reverend and dear sir, &c.

T. F. CALCUTTA.

This chapter shall be concluded with two short extracts, from his correspondence with Mr. Ward: the former of which, more especially, is recommended to the attention of those, who, whether in Europe or in Asia, form great expectations of the improvement of mankind from the influence of knowledge when divorced from religion.

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Calcutta, November 5, 1819.

My dear Friend,

. . . . . I suppose that long ere this it is known in England what the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel means to do with the money collected under authority of the king's letter. I have advised a mission college, or seminary, upon a considerable scale. This advice, I have little doubt, will be followed; and I am ready prepared with a site worthy of any establishment that can be desired,—a piece of ground upon the banks of our majestic river, within three miles of the capital, adjoining the Botanic Garden, which resembles an English park, and directly opposite the magnificent villas of Garden Reach. If this can be well established, it promises, with the Divine blessing, to be an honour to our Church and nation, and essentially to advance the Christian cause. A great deal, in truth, is going on here in the minds of the people; but knowledge, or at least a smattering of every thing, is, I suspect, making a much more rapid progress than religion. I expect that, in a few years, we shall be overrun with small philosophers and politicians; and then, if the country is in danger of being lost, the blame will be laid upon Christianity, which will be wholly unconcerned in the mischief, and is the only thing which could have averted it. People here

argue as if mere secular knowledge will lead to Christianity, as a matter of course. I do not collect any such result either from Scripture or experience,—it leads much more naturally to something else. A Hindoo deist was asked the other day, if he did not wish the English out of the country? His answer was, "I wished you out of it twenty years ago—you did nothing for us; but as you are going on now, I wish you to stay twenty years longer, and then the sooner you are gone the better." However, I hope that Christianity will yet be diffused in time to prevent the evils which superficial knowledge must ever produce, unaccompanied with religious restraint.

Mrs. Middleton and myself, for the time, have, we bless God, escaped autumnal fevers. My sight, however, is much impaired—I cannot see by candlelight.

Ever your affectionate friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

Calcutta, November 23, 1819.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

. . . . . The grant[1] of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is, as you say, a noble one. The Society for Propagating the Gospel

[1] The intelligence of this grant was received by the Bishop on the 16th of November, 1819.

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had already voted me a similar sum; and out of these I am about to build a college, which, I trust, will be an honour to our Church, and the bulwark of the Christian cause in this country. I have obtained for the college an admirable site, within three miles of this busy capital, but in a spot as retired as any village within twenty miles of London; and there, I hope, men of learning and piety will be labouring to disseminate the blessed faith and surer hope of Christians, and will send forth their scholars throughout the eastern world, when he who projected the fabric shall be mouldering perhaps within its walls. To complete this institution, and to bring it into active operation, will probably cost me from five to seven years more of life; though it were almost presumptuous to look forward to such a period. It seems, in such a scene of mortality as we have lately witnessed, to be an especial mercy of Providence, that during the whole autumn, no sickness has visited my dwelling; except, indeed among servants, who do not here live in the house. If amidst these dangers, I should survive till my work is pretty well advanced, I do not think it quite impossible that my residence here should be abridged. At present, however, I should be unwilling to quit my post: my duties are interesting and important, and I feel that my heart is in them: nor am I at present sensible of any material decay, unless indeed that my sight grows

indifferent; but unhappily in this climate a man breaks down all at once. He may attain to the age of fifty or sixty without ever having had a serious illness; and then, on sending for his physician to relieve what he supposed to be a slight complaint, he is told that he has no time to spare, but must embark for the Cape or England.

I am glad that St. Pancras church is begun: had this happened in my time, I suspect I should never have had any thing to do with building a college in India; but I doubt not that all things are ordered for the best. I am sure that half my disappointments in life have proved mercies and blessings. Farewell! my dear friend, and believe me,

Ever yours affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

CHAPTER XX.

Conversion and baptism of a native at Meerut by the Rev. Henry Fisher—Misunderstanding between military and episcopal jurisdiction—Notice of Propaganda by the Rev. J. Pratt—Communication with Greek Christians—Extracts of correspondence with archdeacon Barnes, and with Mr. Ward—Awful thunder-storm—Duty of chaplains to visit military hospitals—Proposal of marriage act for India—Letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on the southern missions—Transfer of the Danish missions in Tanjore—Donation of Tamul prayer-books from Sir Robert Brownrigg—Letter from the Rev. J. Hough on the the Society's missions—Letter to Mr. Norris—Free-school at Calcutta—Project of the Governor-general for building a cathedral and bishop's house at Calcutta.

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THE movements thus making in the southern and western parts of Hindostan, in furtherance of the great cause of religious truth, seemed to be now also beginning to operate in the north.

In the month of December this year, a most interesting communication was addressed to the Bishop, by the Rev. Henry Fisher, the chaplain of Meerut, a large military cantonment, not far from Delhi, under the presidency of Bengal. It appears that a soldier of the native infantry

stationed in that neighbourhood, had been converted to Christianity; an incident which seems to have been productive of some jealousy among the military authorities. A representation of the matter was accordingly transmitted by Major ———, commanding that corps, to the commander-in-chief at Calcutta; and the affair was displayed in such a light, that the marquess of Hastings thought it necessary to refer it to the official consideration of the Bishop. His lordship immediately called upon Mr. Fisher for a full statement relative to this occurence, and the answer of that gentleman is here inserted. It presents us with an affecting instance of the power of Divine truth on a simple, honest, and courageous heart; and it places in a somewhat curious light "the fears of the brave and the follies of the wise!"

Meerut, December 14, 1819.

My Lord,

Having had the honour to receive your lordship's communication respecting the conversion and subsequent baptism of Matthew Pirbhoodeen Naick in the 25th Bengal native infantry, I beg leave, in cheerful compliance with your lordship's request for full information upon the subject, to state the following particulars.

Could I have imagined it possible that Major ——— had written so intemperate a record

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of the transaction, I must have felt it an incumbent duty to address your lordship long ago: but as that gentleman assured me, in reply to a note of mine, that he had merely related the fact in compliance with what he felt to be *his* duty, and gave me no intimation of his having proffered any alarming prophetic conjectures of his own, I could anticipate no consequences of an unpleasant nature, and therefore did not think it requisite to address you on the subject.

I believe your lordship is already fully aware that, since my residence at Meerut, I have had abundant occasion to observe a strong spirit of enquiry prevalent amongst many of the natives as to the nature of the Christian religion. *Unsolicited and unsought wholly on my part,* numbers, both of Mahometans and Hindoos, frequently visit my house for the purpose of begging (if unable to purchase) our Scriptures in the native languages, or to enquire into the meaning of different passages which awaken their curiosity or excite their feelings. The interesting result has been a certain degree of intimacy between us, and, in some few instances, the ultimate conversion, baptism, and consistent Christian deportment, of those who have joined themselves to our Church. One of these men (whose uprightness and competent abilities qualify him for the office) is employed by me to conduct this little church under my eyes and direction,

which he does with considerable zeal and talent. His name is Anand Messee. In his absence, in occasional missionary labour amongst the Saadhs (to whom he is particularly acceptable) my moonshee, Mooneef, a very exemplary Christian, takes his place. Part of the daily occupations of this little party of native converts is to read the Scriptures in their own apartment, an old convenient room over one of the gateways of the city of Meerut. Of course, this is free of access to every voluntary visitor. Their congregation of hearers varies much in numerical strength. Sometimes they have six or seven, sometimes twice the number. Among the occasional visitors at this place, the soldier in question frequently made his appearance, and ultimately requested to be introduced to me. His visits were frequent; and the decided change of his opinions, and, I trust, of his heart, marked and satisfactory. I found he had been labouring under a deep conviction of the worthlessness and wickedness of his heathen ignorance and idolatry for NINE YEARS; that, when he went with his regiment to the Isle of France, he used to watch for opportunities to steal into the Christian Church, and strive to worship the Christian God in *spirit*, though ignorant of the meaning of their language or of their forms, and could only comfort himself with the conscious reflection that God knew his heart.

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He longed to meet with some one who should be competent to teach him; although many fears of consequences both of a temporal and spiritual nature frequently distressed him. He, at last, determined to speak to a Christian clergyman, to unfold the state of his soul. The opportunity as he thought had not occurred till he came to Meerut; and he considered it in answer to his imperfect prayers, that the providence of God had brought him here.

As soon as the Brahmins of his corps were apprised of his intentions to become a Christian, they manifested extreme sorrow for what they conceived to be his folly, by kind remonstrances. They pointed out to him the perilous consequences, the loss of his high and honourable caste, the consequent rejection of all his friends, the certain displeasure of government, who would, as they told him, certainly turn him out of his situation for becoming a Christian; so that he would leave every thing dear to him in life, and even his bread. He replied, that he believed that Jesus Christ would be the friend of all who trusted in him; that Christian caste was more honourable than all others, because they were the people of the true God; that his being a Christian could not make him a *bad soldier;* and that he did not think government would cast him off any more than they would other non-commissioned officers, such as the serjeant-major, and the quarter-master

serjeant, who were Christians; and the drummers were Christians; and why should he be punished unless he did something wrong? The Brahmins then proffered to bribe him, by settling upon him for life a monthly pension of twenty rupees, which he instantly rejected, saying, that he believed that Jesus Christ would provide for him sufficiently, not only in this life, but for ever. Finding him determined, they vilified his character, representing him as a drunkard and a glutton, and ultimately as *insane*. I conclude that these absurd stories were believed by some of the officers of his corps; for I learn that a court of enquiry was instituted into the man's conduct. The result was, however, the most satisfactory evidence of his having ever conducted himself, not *merely well*, but in a most exemplary manner, and that he was a particularly smart and fine soldier. He was baptized by me, at his own *unsolicited request*, (which I beg your lordship will have the goodness to observe) on the 20th of October, in the presence of the other native Christians, and one or two friends of mine, previous to his departure on some regimental duty, being apprehensive he might not return to Meerut; and here the business ended. The Brahmins ceased to trouble him, and the only symptoms of "*consternation*" which Major ——, in the plenitude of his zeal pathetically laments, is this; he eats his meals by himself, barred from

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admission within the magic circle with which the Brahmin entrenches himself. In every other respect he still remains the same,—a steady man, a good soldier,—except that he reads his Bible, and prays to the one Eternal Jehovah through Jesus Christ. I trust this plain unvarnished statement to your lordship will place this matter in its proper light, and be a sufficient proof that the intemperate and irritating representation, which Major ——— has thought proper to transmit for the information of government, is utterly unwarranted by the circumstances of the case.

I will take care and attend to your lordship's desire, that the registers are in future forwarded half-yearly. I should esteem it a favour if your lordship will communicate to me the result of the proposed investigation into the circumstances of Matthew Pirbhoodeen's story.

I am, with respectful and sincere regard,
Your lordship's
Faithful and most obedient servant,
HENRY FISHER.

In the midst of these nobler cares, the Bishop was sometimes encountered by such strange and anomalous obliquities of opinion, as would have been almost laughable, if they did not indicate a state of mind, which threatened him with incessant difficulty and vexation. He was one day

asked with all imaginable gravity, by a sensible man, and a Churchman too, whether his new college was to be a branch of the Baptist establishment at Serampoor! A much more serious annoyance was, that he had occasionally, to contend with men who seemed to prefer military to episcopal jurisdiction. He mentions, in his correspondence, that he was one day surprised by the receipt of a letter from one of the chaplains, accompanied by a request that his lordship would forward it to the government; and the purport of this notable application was, that the government would be pleased to define the boundaries between the ecclesiastical and military jurisdiction over the clergy; as if, says the Bishop, the government had any power to give an authoritative interpretation to the letters-patent, or the officers of the army had any ecclesiastical control over the ministers of the Church! The Bishop, of course, declined to transmit this paper to the government. Nevertheless, it appears that this very man, having afterwards obtained leave of absence from his own station, and being on a visit at another, where there was a licensed chaplain, obtained there, from the commanding officer, a sort of license to officiate at a wedding, although the licensed chaplain remonstrated against the invasion of his rights. To complete this strange irregularity, the commanding officer actually

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caused a copy of his pretended license to be sent to the senior chaplain at Calcutta, affecting to consider *him* as the supreme constituted ecclesiastical authority. Copies of these documents were immediately transmitted by the Bishop to the Governor-general in council, with a view to the suppression of such unwarrantable practices, which, it is to be hoped, never were repeated. The circumstance is noticed here for the sole purpose of presenting some notion of the vexatious opposition against which episcopal authority had then to contend, and which compelled the first holder of it to prepare for a conflict at every step of his progress. To our imagination, few things can well be more extraordinary than this assumption of ecclesiastical authority by martial functionaries! And yet some persons in authority were still inclined to think, that the clergy doing duty with the military, were subject to the court-martial. The confusion, however, was precisely such as might naturally be expected to arise out of a state of Christian society which had been suffered to grow up without any ecclesiastical establishment, and in which all authority, of every kind, was often, from necessity, concentrated, for years together, in the persons of military men.

It would be improper to dismiss the letter which alludes to these particulars, without noticing the honourable testimony it bears to

the work of the Reverend Josiah Pratt, entitled "*Propaganda*,"—a publication which exhibits a view of the past labours of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. "I really think," says the Bishop, "that the Society, and therefore the Church, owes a great deal to this publication, though I dislike the title of it. I have put it into circulation as much as possible: *and people are perfectly amazed that they never heard of a Society which has done so much.* It is one of the most interesting exposés I ever read; and Mr. Pratt has done us essential service. Mr. Hawtayne, by my desire, drew up a short account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts taken from the *Propaganda*, and sent it to the government Gazette, to prepare the way for fuller details hereafter."

The greater part of a letter from the Bishop to Dr. Gaskin, dated Calcutta, February 2, 1820, is here inserted, as it contains some very interesting particulars relative to missionary concerns in the south of India.

"Your letter of the 28th July reached me three days ago. I had not heard any thing of the transfer of the Christian congregations in *Tanjore*, belonging to the Danish mission, to our Society; a measure, the expediency of which the Society appears to have left to my decision. I am not aware of any circumstance which should induce us to decline such an offer,—on the con-

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trary, I think it desirable in every point of view. I have, therefore, directed Mr. Hawtayne to write immediately to Mr. Kolhoff, to inform the missionaries at Tranquebar, that our Society accepts the proposal, and will make the stipulated allowance of 10*l.* per month for the purpose; and also to request that Mr. Kolhoff will take immediate charge of those catechists and their congregations; and expect from me the payment of the monthly allowance, till a permanent arrangement can be made at home. This arrangement you will be so kind as to make as early as you conveniently can, as there is considerable difficulty in making these payments in India, and afterwards settling the account in England.

"I am very glad to find the Society have raised the salaries of the missionaries to 150*l.*: you add, that they will raise it 50*l.* more, if I should deem it expedient. I really think that more is requisite. Suppose that you make it 180*l.* per annum, and 200*l.* to the Vepery missionaries, and to Mr. Kolhoff; to the latter, for his length of service, and to the Vepery missionaries expressly on the ground of the greater expense of living at Madras, which is probably the most expensive place in India. This I should consider to be a just arrangement, and such as would satisfy all the parties.

"On looking at the Ceylon Gazette, which is just arrived, I observe a quarterly meeting of the

Colombo district committee on the 2d ult., from which it appears that the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, who is now, however, probably on his voyage to England, has presented to the committee the complete impression (500 copies) of a Tamul version of the Liturgy, made by Christian David, the pupil of Swartz. The books are bound, and could not, I *suppose*, have cost his Excellency less than 300*l*. This very generous act, I doubt not, the Society will notice as it deserves. When the Cingalese version, for which I have already requested the Society to send out paper, shall be completed, the book of Common Prayer will be intelligible to all the inhabitants of Ceylon; with the exception, perhaps, of some few of the wild tribes in the interior, who are in a state of barbarism. You may recollect that the Society has assisted in an edition of the Tamul Prayer Book at Madras, as translated by Dr. Rottler; but you are not to infer that this has been rendered useless by what has been done at Ceylon: the Malabar of Ceylon is said to have degenerated very much from that of the peninsula, so as to constitute almost another language. I may remind you that the version of Christian David has been noticed by you in the Report for 1816, at p. 53."

"Upon the whole, I trust that the affairs of the Society are as prosperous in this part of the world as could be expected, under all the cir-

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cumstances. I have lately prevailed with the Governor to grant a small allowance to the chaplain of Dacca, to enable him to pass three months of the year at Chittagong, a station on the borders of the Birman empire, where there are several Europeans, and other Christians. Mr. Taylor writes that he has found three gentlemen there who will be members of our diocesan committee, and will form a little station committee, and use their endeavours to distribute our books. All these out-posts may hereafter be important, especially when the college shall be in action. I am very anxious to begin the building; but the preparations require some time. Chittagong is about 150 miles south-east of Dacca, and about 300 miles E. by S. of Calcutta, and is the same with Islamabad. But this reminds me to suggest, that in the extended relations of the Society with India, it might be convenient if a map of India were hung up in the board-room.

"The letter of the Rev. Mr. Hough was read here at a pretty numerous meeting, and it called forth from all who heard it, an expression of general Christian feeling; it may probably be as well received in England. I wrote to Mr. Hough to thank him on behalf of the Society for his attention to its concerns; and I have heard from him in reply. He speaks in strong terms of the importance of sending a missionary to Palamcotta; and I believe that much might be done in

that quarter. But I wrote to you on this subject some months since."

The letter of the Reverend J. Hough, here alluded to by the Bishop, is inserted, as conveying some interesting particulars relative to his visit of some of the Society's missions.

Palamcotta, September 2, 1819.

My dear Sir,

Having just returned from a visit to the Protestant Churches in this district, I hasten to report their present condition.

There is a church at every station; but, with only two exceptions, they are built with raw brick, and covered with palmyra leaves. The ground, on which these churches stand, was given to the mission by the Nabob's government nearly twenty years ago, and most of the buildings were erected at the same time. Those I have seen are in very good repair, and it requires but a small sum annually to keep them so.

The mission has received an important accession since the last report in another native priest, named Viservarsemarden. He seems to be a man of respectable abilities and genuine piety: and the discourse I heard him preach to his own congregation would have done credit to a minister possessed of the advantage of a superior education to that which he has received. He is stationed at a village called by the Christians Nazareth,

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about twenty miles to the south of this; and Abraham, the other country priest, is at Mothelloor, a few miles farther. If I may judge from appearances during my short stay among the people of these two villages, they are much attached to their priests, as are the Christians of the surrounding country; and I am persuaded they only require to be well supported and encouraged to prove of the most essential service to the congregations entrusted to their care. Even from my hasty visit, the joy diffused through all classes was indescribable, and the people flocked in from the neighbouring villages in every direction. On catechizing such as were introduced to me as the principal people, I found them much better taught in their religion than I had anticipated: and considering the space of time that they have been without a missionary, it was highly gratifying and encouraging to find the benign and peaceable genius of Christianity still keeping them at unity amongst themselves. The two villages named above consist entirely of *Protestants*, nor is there an idol or heathen temple any where to be seen: while the stillness that prevailed, contrasted with the tumult of heathen abodes, seemed to invest these favoured spots with a degree of sanctity, and made one forget for the moment that they were in the midst of a pagan land. One of the priests led me to a part of the village, where was seated

under the shade of cocoa-nut trees a considerable company of women spinning cotton, and singing Lutheran hymns to the motion of their wheels. After service a great part of the congregation shewed no disposition to disperse, and, seating themselves around the door, sang their hymns to a late hour. There were two old men among the group, who were converted to the Christian faith by your missionary Jœnicke, about twenty years ago, and they sang to me several hymns he had taught them. What they sang or said was not so intelligible, indeed, as the language of younger men, but you will readily imagine them to have been among the most interesting of the company. I state these, perhaps trifling particulars, to shew that there appears to be something more than the bare name of Christianity here; and that the enemies of missionary exertions are mistaken in asserting, as many have asserted, that there is not a genuine convert to Christianity among the native protestants. No, Sir, if the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had no other fruit of their cares, their exertions, or their expenditures, for " the promoting of Christian knowledge" in India, to produce, they might point triumphantly to these two villages, in proof that their labour has not been in vain. I have seldom witnessed so much religion in a town in England as is conspicuous here: and some heathen in the neighbourhood of one of the vil-

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lages told me candidly, that it was a very quiet and good place.

I spoke with the priests of the Tamul Liturgy that you propose sending hither, and recommended them to adopt it in all the churches in room of the German form of worship now in use; and they readily acceded to the proposition. I concluded this to be the wish of the committee from their sending five and twenty copies of the work; but, if I have misconceived their intention, I beg they will let me know in time to prevent any alterations being made.

By the statement of baptisms, &c. during the last year, the committee will perceive that the mission continues to spread.

Children baptized	117
Converts from heathenism . .	52
	169
Deceased	115
Total increase for the year 1818	54

Marriages . . 34 Communicants . 127

"In communicating this report of the present state of the Society mission in this remote corner of the Indian continent, I feel that I have not done justice to the subject: but I am especially persuaded, that it is not possible for me to convey the impression that the sight of so many

native Christians congregated together must impart to every benevolent mind; and I could not help wishing, whilst among these interesting people, that the committee were present to witness the scene." CHAP. XX. 1820.

It may perhaps help to illustrate the interesting peculiarities of Anglo-Indian episcopacy, to mention that it brought Bishop Middleton into correspondence with some members of the Greek Church. "I do not know," he writes[1], "whether you are aware that we have several Greeks in the provinces under this government. But what is more remarkable is, that though they are mostly traders in a small way, many of them understand ancient Greek exceedingly well. Two called upon me the other day, and sent up their card *in Greek*, desiring an audience: and I have just received a Greek letter from Benares, in which the writer commends, 'τὸ πρᾶον, τὸ ἱλαρὸν, τὸ καλοκἀγαθον, καὶ Χριστομίμητον ἦθος ὑμῶν,' as classically as if he had been at Cambridge. You must know that I am a favourite with these Greeks; first, I believe, from having some acquaintance with their ancient language, of which they are reasonably proud; and for having given one of their padres (priests) a Greek letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople. I complimented the Patriarch on his sitting in the chair

[1] To the author, dated Calcutta, April 5, 1820.

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of Chrysostom; but the poor man, as I have since learned, had been driven from the chair but a few days before my letter reached him, and was obliged to content himself with a message, being too afflicted to write!"

The miscellaneous objects which demanded the Bishop's attention during the present year (1820) will be best learned from the following portions of his correspondence with archdeacon Barnes; which will exhibit, among other matters, the incessant evil and perplexity arising from the want of a regular marriage-law in India.

Calcutta, April 7, 1820.

I have been longer than I intended in noticing the difficulty referred to by the Rev. Mr. Baynes, in the return required of him by military authority, of his official visits to the garrison hospital; but the absence of the king's troops from Bombay in the interval has made the delay, I trust, of no importance.

When I directed that the garrison chaplain should visit the sick at least once in every week, I was not aware, that under the former system the order was to visit twice: nor should I have conceived it to be consistent with my duty, to introduce a lower system than that which had been already established. I have inquired, however, into the origin of the military regulation to which Mr. Baynes refers; and I find it to be such

that I conceive it must be complied with. It rests upon a compact between his Majesty's government and the East India Company; who would be required to maintain army chaplains in this country, to officiate exclusively to the king's troops, if they did not covenant that their own chaplains should perform this duty; and of this duty it is everywhere a part to visit the sick twice in every week, and to report, periodically, that this has been done; and every neglect on the part of the Company's chaplains would be a violation of the compact entered into by their employers. It is not, therefore, an assumption of military authority over the chaplains to require the return, but merely the fulfilment of an order, to which the chaplains are subject, by their appointment. I will thank you to explain these circumstances to Mr. Baynes, and I doubt not he will see the matter in its true light; in requiring the return, the officer acts not judicially but merely ministerially. . . . . .

Calcutta, April 8, 1820.

I entirely agree with you respecting the merits of the National Society; I consider it to be, at this moment, the most important society in England: all others must be ineffectual if it fail; the disaffection of the lower orders, if not checked by its operation, will swallow up every thing. I do not, however, think it would be at all expe-

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dient to raise subscriptions for it, or for any purely British object, in India: our duty is to interest the Indian public in the wants of this country. To raise money here, to be sent to England, would be virtually a declaration that the state of religion and knowledge in India are subjects of subordinate concern. I rejoice in the success of your exertions, and the produce of your Sermon for promoting Christian knowledge: 70*l.* is indeed a considerable sum. Your funds are now such, that if the college were established, you might assist the press by employing it in printing translations of the Society's tracts. I have, however, written home upon that subject. I hope to have students in the college from your side of India, and a Mahratta moonshee; and I have reason to expect that the Ceylon government will support Cingalese students in college, at the public charge. The time may come when all the governments may adopt the same course: it may be seen to be a matter of policy to have converts trained up in the principles of order and allegiance.

You may remember that when I was at Bombay, I applied to the Board of Control respecting a marriage act; but Mr. Courtenay was unwilling to take up the business. I do not see, however, how we can go on with the present system, or rather want of all system. What is a license in one part of India is no license

in another. In some places commanding officers consider a scrap of paper, indicating their consent to a soldier's marriage, to supersede banns: and the other day, when a soldier was told his banns should be published, he said he would have nothing to do with banns, and was immediately married by one of the Baptists. The marriage is certainly invalid; but the notion seems to prevail, that any thing is a marriage, which the person officiating chooses to call so. A late Madras paper announces a marriage by a Danish missionary from Tranquebar, then staying at Madras. I must, therefore, again make an attempt to have these abuses corrected; and to aid me in the work, I wish you would turn your thoughts to the subject, and throw together such hints, as may seem to you to be applicable to the state of this country; for our peculiar circumstances must be considered, and in fact constitute the difficulty of the problem.

We have been keeping Lent here tolerably well; on every Wednesday the children were catechised in the cathedral, and on the Friday evenings I preached to very considerable congregations; and on Easter Sunday to 700, of whom 150 were communicants. Lent, however, like every thing else, has become a subject of controversy here, owing to my interference to prevent public amusements in Passion Week. On the Saturday preceding Passion Week, the

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papers announced a conversatione, *i. e.* a public dance, on the Tuesday following; and it is certainly true, as one of the newspapers express it, that "the highest civil authority was requested by the highest ecclesiastical authority" to use his influence to get the ball postponed; and postponed it was accordingly. Upon this some scribbler in a newspaper wishes to know if Passion Week is observed in London? . . . . . Whether the controversy will go on, I know not: but the last important question was, whether the Scotch Church be not legally established in India? I am not yet acquainted with the benefits arising from the freedom of the press here; but the evils are apparent enough. One of them is, that every malignant sneer or silly jest against religion obtains a ready currency both among Europeans and natives. One of the papers here has lately attacked the observance of the Sabbath!

Calcutta, August 3, 1820.

I received your Education Society, and Promoting Christian Knowledge reports, and I think them both extremely well drawn up. They exhibit, in both instances, a very flourishing state of things, owing, I am fully aware, to the zeal and activity with which you promote the interests of the two institutions. Be assured that I duly feel the value of such co-operation.

I am glad the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have enabled you to translate and print their tracts, at least, to make a beginning. I mean to enable this committee to do something in the same way. You are right in supposing that the college here will supply all these things: it is one of its prominent objects to print our tracts in the prevailing languages, and to sell them at reduced prices to members of the several committees, and, at some price, probably, to any who will purchase. The enormous expense of printing at present is a serious impediment to the promotion of knowledge, and really reduces the value of the invention. I have set the two presses of the Society to work again at Madras. They are printing a Tamul translation of Lewis's Catechism, made by one of our new missionaries, Mr. Haubroe, of whom I hear all that is desirable; and a Psalter is also in the press. That committee has always gone on exceedingly well. Mr. Clarke is, in truth, one of the ablest and best disposed men I have ever known . . . . . .

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I cannot fix precisely the time of my visiting you; but you shall have ample notice. I mean, at present, to leave this place about the first week of the new year. It seems to have been providential that I was prevented from going my visitation at the beginning of the present; I should probably have fallen in, on my return, with the

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dreadful hurricanes, which, on both coasts, overwhelmed so many persons in destruction. My plan will be to visit you first, and to touch at Ceylon afterwards; though I hardly know what I am to do at the latter, where only a single colonial chaplain remains in the island: *an archdeacon and a chaplain, in the absence of the bishop, constitute the Church establishment.*

I thank you for your hints towards a Marriage Act for India: the great difficulties turn upon the paucity of clergy and the want of parishes. You say, "let every station be taken as a parish for the purposes of the Act:" but a parish has known boundaries, and in England what is not in one parish is in some other. What is to be the boundary of a station? A few days ago one of the chaplains here applied to me in the following case: a serjeant at Midnapore (70 miles from Calcutta,) was to be married to a young woman of that place; there is no chaplain there, and a serjeant cannot afford to send for one: but his officer would permit him to come over to Calcutta to the cathedral. He could not afford a license; and where were his banns to be published? I directed that they should be published at the cathedral: Midnapore is nearer to Calcutta than to any other clerical station, and, therefore, must be taken as an adjoining extra-parochial place, or a hamlet within the parish. Such a publication, it may be said, at such a distance

from the residence of the parties, is really nugatory; so it is, but this is the only way in which we can save the analogy, and publish banns at all. I mention this merely to shew you that a main difficulty relates to boundaries; as whether Calcutta includes Midnapore, and even Cuttack; and this difficulty would not be removed entirely, if those stations, and all others of the same importance, had chaplains. Pray turn your attention to the subject in this point of view. CHAP. XX. 1820.

Mr. Davies's return restores him to Colaba. I do trust, however, that he will not attempt or wish to set up a congregation again in Bombay, or do any thing which is not strictly canonical; and that you will give him to understand plainly, if it be necessary, that it cannot be allowed. There is abundant room for the exercise of all salutary zeal within the limits of the discipline of the Church. . . . . .

The government here have lately sent me a copy of a despatch from the court of directors[1], informing me in what way they wish me to grant licenses. I suppose the letter passed through the Board of Controul, and yet it bespeaks a degree of interference, which, on a former occasion, the Board disclaimed. . . . . .

As to ecclesiastical matters here, I am sorry to

[1] An abstract of this despatch has been inserted in vol. i. page 449—450.

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say, that several of the chaplains are expected to take their furlough the next cold season; and I question whether more than nine or ten will remain in this archdeaconry. It is a sad state of things, and really disgraceful to the greatest of Christian nations; but the fault is not with me."

It may afford a seasonable relief from these details to furnish the reader with parts of the Bishop's correspondence with Mr. Ward, which present an interesting combination of light and shadow.

Calcutta, April 8, 1820.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It is long since I heard from you; but it is some relief to me, that while I do not hear from you, I can at least write to you. You judged very well in directing to Bombay; though as it happens, my visitation of the western side of my diocese must be deferred till the beginning of next year. I purpose to go to Bombay direct, and to take Ceylon on my return. My late experience, however, has made me rather more averse than ever from the sea. We went through a great deal, and had some very narrow escapes. At my next visitation of Bombay I shall probably have occasion to go to Surat. I shall then be pretty well acquainted with all the sea coast of India. I am constantly asked, when I shall go into the

Upper Provinces, to Agra and Delhi? But till the Company will build churches in those parts, I should be able to effect but little; and even then I know not how I should find time; it would occupy at least ten months, if not a whole year; and my duties in Calcutta are alone sufficient to occupy my whole attention. They are increasing, indeed, every day: so much so that I am unable to keep down my routine business, and have fallen sadly into arrear. I have not yet begun to build my college; but I am making preparations. It is inconceivable what trouble I have had with architects. The routine of office is vastly slower here than in London; but I hope it will be well done at last. I have got the grant of land executed, a beautiful spot of twenty acres on the western bank of the river, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and their successors for ever. *A very experienced builder has examined the ground, and he says that there is not firmer or drier in Bengal.* If it please God to preserve me amidst so many dangers till the college is well established, I hardly know what more I shall have to desire on this side the grave. The other morning I walked over the ground without any companion, and while I heard at a distance the woodman's axe at the root of the trees, I could not help musing on what, if God bless the design, will be the future studies and glories of the place, when

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the founder, perhaps within its walls, is mingling with the dust.

I am sorry to say that the cholera morbus has broken out again: it is really almost a plague. Europeans have not very lately suffered much from it: but every body is provided with medicine to be taken instantly: the doctor must not be waited for: life is here held by an awful tenure. Somehow or other I have caught cold, and am at this moment much oppressed by it: but I have the best of nurses. It makes me tremble when I reflect that I hold all my happiness in this world by a single, and apparently a very slight thread. I am, indeed, the most dependent man living. I feel myself to be so, and often it affects my spirits. There is nothing to break the fall—no child; and, in this country, no friend; none, I mean, in the sense which the case supposes. But I trust that Providence will order every thing for the best. Of all men in the world I ought to be among the last who could doubt his mercy. My whole life, up to the present hour, is a monument of his mercy.

The late season of Lent has been kept here with a considerable degree of propriety. I catechised the children on every Wednesday, and preached to very respectable congregations on every Friday evening: and on Sunday last, (Easter-day), my congregation was 700, of whom 150 received the sacrament. But this is the

favourable side of the case: there is a great deal of irreligion here; and it is not without its advocates. Pray present our united regards to Mrs. Ward and the family, and believe me,

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Ever your affectionate friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

Calcutta, August 7, 1820.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The contrast of your sauntering and idleness at Tunbridge Wells with my "bustling activity" at Penang, under a nearly vertical sun, may appear to yourself to be not very much in your favour. You speak, as if I had rather the advantage; whereas, it seems to me to be all on your side. It is one of the great deprivations attending a residence in these regions, that one cannot saunter; that is, that one cannot take a walk at all. You recollect, that this was one of my greatest enjoyments; wherever I have resided I have on foot explored the neighbourhood. At Cambridge, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Northamptonshire, I knew every village within five or six miles of my dwelling: but nothing of the kind is here possible; the attempt would in all probability produce a fever. It is to this cause that so many strangers, young men especially, on their first arrival, owe their death. They forget that they are no longer in England. Believe me then, my friend, that I would wil-

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lingly exchange the pleasure of contemplating the majestic scenery of the east for an evening's ramble in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells: there is something cool and refreshing in the thought. At this moment, on looking out of my library window, I see the argulas, or adjutants, (a species of crane that stands nearly three feet high,) with their wings extended horizontally; and thus they will continue at this season for hours together; it is on the same principle that we throw off our clothing; they cannot bear to have the covering of their wings close to their bodies. And yet this is not comparatively a hot day, the thermometer being only 86°,—though the thermometer is but a very inadequate test of heat, as felt by the human frame. A retiring place like Tunbridge, or Ramsgate, or Weymouth, is the great desideratum of India. Here, when people are sick, they are sent to sea, probably to the Cape, which is the worst half of the voyage to England.

Calcutta, September 6, 1820.

My dear Friend,

Since I last wrote to you, Mrs. Middleton and myself have had a very narrow escape from destruction. We were sitting at dinner on Thursday evening last, when our house was struck with lightning. The clap of thunder resembled the firing of an eighteen-pounder in the

next room: the dining-room was immediately filled with smoke, accompanied with a strong smell of sulphur. Providentially, though the servants were about, no person was hurt; but it was soon discovered that the venetians had been shattered at about twelve feet from where Mrs. Middleton and myself were sitting, and all the western side of the house had been battered as if with shot. But the scene of havoc was up stairs. Adjoining my library is an enclosed verandah of about forty feet by thirteen; the electric matter had entered through the roof at each end close to the wall, and had occasioned a scene of frightful devastation. The floor was literally covered with bricks, plaster, fragments of venetians, broken glass, and the iron fastenings of the windows, which were torn to pieces, and in some places slightly fused. But the electric fluid was impatient of any thing like confinement: at one end of the verandah it passed through a wall two feet thick into my library, and tore off the plaster; at the other end it forced its way through a much thicker wall, and came out on the principal stair-case. It is singular enough that a canvass partition in the verandah, placed nearly at equal distances from both ends, had been perforated by bodies, which had evidently moved in opposite directions, probably fragments of wood or brick. One end of this verandah forms my dressing-

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room, where but an hour before I had been dressing for dinner. Had the lightning taken effect at that time, I must inevitably have been killed, and perhaps have been dashed to pieces, or burnt to a cinder. All this, you may believe, is a cause of great thankfulness; such a deliverance is indeed almost miraculous. There has not been known any incident like this in the memory of man: the shivering of a window or two is an event which takes place in Calcutta, perhaps, once in four or five years, but nothing more.

I have not yet actually begun building, but I hope all impediments are now removed. I have had a great deal of trouble and anxiety with this undertaking; but if it please God to enable me to accomplish all which I have projected, I shall be well rewarded for my labour. My object has been duty; and if in the discharge of this, I could but hope, as I sometimes do (though not always) that good is done, I should be perfectly content. If I should live to see the college completed and put upon a prosperous footing, I shall seem to have been preserved for a useful purpose. It promises to be a noble work, and will, I hope, have God's blessing. But he who begins a great work, if he be at all of my habit of mind, will be led into serious reflections respecting the end of it. What is his prospect of seeing it completed? Two years is the

limit allowed, in the agreement with the builder, for the completion of the work; I am, as you know, very near the close of my fifty-second year; and two years more, will carry me to an age, which every where is somewhat advanced, and is still more so in India. I meet in fact but few seniors in society; those who are not dead, have returned to England, with here and there a solitary exception. It is of some importance to the object, that my life should be spared for a few years. A long interval must elapse before another bishop could arrive from England, to supply my place; and even he might not take it up precisely in the spirit of the projector: but when the institution is once completed, it will require little more than adherence to statutes, or established usage. I will endeavour to send you a drawing of the college as it will be seen from the river, as I know you are fond of architecture; if that may be dignified with the name of architecture, which has had no assistance from Nash, or Soane, or Smirke, and, of course, pretends not to any grandeur or beauty of design, but only to the useful, and not to offend good taste.

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We are both well, and join in affectionate regards to you all.

Ever, my dear friend, affectionately yours,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

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Such was the violence of the storm alluded to in this last extract, that it was noticed in most of the London papers: and it is impossible to reflect, without emotion, that it might have brought to a premature and lamentable close the invaluable labours and benevolent solicitudes of Bishop Middleton.

Although the thoughts and faculties of Bishop Middleton were now almost absorbed by the various and great objects constantly before him, he continued to feel, at intervals, that appalling sense of *solitude*, which is frequently the subject of his complaints, and which seemed to become more insupportable with every additional year of his residence in India. He felt that he was almost *alone* in the mighty work which was given him to do; and this he expresses in a very affecting manner to that valued friend to whom so much of his correspondence is addressed.

TO THE REV. H. H. NORRIS.

Calcutta, September 12, 1820.

My dear Friend,

I wrote to you a few lines upon a cover, about five weeks since, just to shew you that I was alive and well. I now sit down to give a full reply to your most acceptable letter of February last. When I say *most acceptable*, I am not quite sure that you sufficiently distinguish the expres-

sion from the language of ordinary civility. You are not, in fact, in circumstances to feel its full force. You are surrounded by kindred spirits, and need not to go beyond the limits of Hackney, to hear what interests you, or to impart what is uppermost in your mind: or, if you want advice or consolation, in cases which admit it, you know where to apply. How different is this from my condition! How is it, that a feeling of severance —I had almost said of exile—will sometimes steal across the mind, and suggest that in respect of all the great objects, and business, and consolations of life, I am *alone!* The most powerful remedy against all such feelings, is found in letters from England; and in none, I assure you, more than your own. It is something to be assured that I am not fallen into absolute oblivion; and that if I perish, there are some few, at least, among good men, who would utter an affectionate *vale!*"

This paragraph is followed by many pages of discussion, explanatory statement, and anxious anticipation and conjecture, relative to the mission college, which he was anxious to begin building. He then passes on to another subject, which he always contemplated with great satisfaction, namely, the free school at Calcutta, of which it will be interesting to hear his own account.

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"September 14, 1820.

I was obliged to pause in my letter by a slight attack of indisposition, occasioned by uneasiness, increased by sitting yesterday morning *five hours* at the free school; when we agreed, unanimously, to break in a little upon our funded capital, and raise the number of children wholly maintained by us from 300 to 400; 120 girls and 280 boys. This is one of the finest institutions out of England; and, I really think, admirably conducted. It was in a sad neglected state when I first arrived here: but the monthly meetings of the patrons and governors, and the getting out a master from England, have accomplished great things. The governors, (eleven besides the patron, myself) are the archdeacon, and the two chaplains of the cathedral, and several of the most considerable gentlemen in the place; and nothing can be more harmonious than our meetings. It is a pleasure to attend them. The boys I hope to find excellent schoolmasters, to be educated in the college. Some of them are European on both sides. Supposing them to enter the college at fourteen, with the best instruction afforded by the school, and then for five or six years to be well instructed in European knowledge, in history, in the elements of natural philosophy, and the lower parts of mathematics, in sound Christian learning, and, *perhaps*, in a little Latin,—they will then be such

schoolmasters as India cannot boast at present. I mean that they should, of course, cultivate the English language, and some of the native languages, which will be equally required." CHAP. XX. 1820.

The letter which contains this various matter, has likewise a brief allusion to a plan of the Governor-general, which had been some time in agitation, but which was unfortunately defeated, for investing the see of Calcutta with becoming splendour. In a correspondence with the Nizam, the sovereign of Hydrabad, who paid an annual tribute to the supreme government, the marquess of Hastings had engaged to forego this tribute on condition of an ample gift, to the amount of several lacs of rupees, for the embellishment of Calcutta. With this sum he proposed to erect a cathedral, and an episcopal residence or see-house; a chapel at Barrackpoor; and a set of alms-houses near St. James's Church for respectable widows, far advanced in life. With this design in contemplation, his lordship actually engaged a young engineer, of superior talents, to prepare plans for the consideration of the Bishop. Both these designs were returned by him with various objections; that of the cathedral as defective in architectural propriety, that of the house as greatly excessive in magnificence. These objections were fully admitted by lord Hastings, who desired that the plans might undergo revision. A design for

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the episcopal residence was accordingly prepared upon a much more limited scale, but still admirably suited to the dignity of the office, and the convenience which might be required for a family residence. With this second draft for the episcopal house the Bishop was fully satisfied; with regard to the preparation of an appropriate design for the cathedral, he was enabled to assist the conceptions of the engineer by referring him to Britton's Antiquities, and to a large collection of engravings of Gothic architecture, which he had carefully made among his own friends. The plan was in hopeful progress, when the engineer was seized with an alarming fever, which compelled him to embark without delay for England. He carried with him his unfinished sketch, with the intention of completing it from his own observation of such ancient structures in this country, always with a due regard to the difference of climate. In consequence of some objections, however, on the part of other members of the council, which rendered it indispensable to refer the question to the authorities at home, the scheme was ultimately suffered to drop: "and so," says the Bishop, "I must go on without any thing at all resembling a cathedral; and paying *house-rent* 630*l. per annum, without having a spare room in which to invite a friend to stay a single night.*"

CHAPTER XXI.

Abstract of the Bishop's sermon on Advent Sunday, 1820—*Laying of the foundation-stone of Bishop's Mission College—Description of the site—General principles of its management.*

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In spite of the various oppressive and discouraging circumstances alluded to at the close of the last chapter, and in other parts of this narrative, the whole correspondence of the Bishop shews that, in the midst of his difficulties, his mind was intently fixed upon his great and favourite design. He had for a considerable time been deeply engaged in plans and estimates; and in all the endless variety of vexatious details unavoidably incident to such an undertaking. He was supported and animated, however, under his labours, by the honourable reception which had been given to the design in England, and by the persuasion that such an institution was fitted to become, in the course of time, the very ark of the Christian cause in India. "If," says he, "it shall please God only to spare me till the work is complete, and the machine effectually set in motion, I shall seem to have attained my

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euthanasia." Again, in the same letter, after some expressions indicating serious apprehension that his powers would be completely exhausted long before the expiration of his period of service, he adds, "You must not, however, infer, when I argue thus, and look to a retreat, that I have any wish to relinquish my duties at present. *At this moment I would not exchange them for those of any individual in my profession.* The college alone is quite sufficient to engage much higher powers than I can boast of, and to reward much greater exertions than I can make. My mind, in truth, cannot contemplate any thing greater, or more worthy of a bishop of the Church of England, than the foundation and organization of such an institution."

In a similar tone of feeling he expresses himself to another correspondent [1]:—"The college to which you allude in your last," he says, "is a project which has been in my mind for the last three years, and is all that I can contribute towards an *university* near this capital; and with the blessing of God, (to which I seem to myself to ascribe more and more the longer I live,) it may bid fair to be the foundation of what, in future ages, may become the University of Calcutta. Cambridge and Oxford certainly arose from humbler beginnings. I have not yet actually

[1] In a letter to the author, dated April 5, 1820.

begun building. It is inconceivable what trouble I have had, not in *obtaining* a plan, (for a college is here as little understood as a pagoda in England,) but in getting my own ideas embodied on paper. . . . . Can you forgive the feelings of a founder if I tell you that, the other day, as I listened to the woodman's axe employed in clearing the ground, I actually began to muse upon what might hereafter be the studies and the glories of the place! I know that such enthusiasm is very irrational, and ought to be checked; but, really, without some little indulgence in this way, I should never get through my difficulties."

Of the institution which thus filled his imagination, and kindled his religious affections, the purpose cannot better be described than in the words of him who is so justly entitled to the honour, which he here diffidently claims, of being remembered as its *Founder;* of him, with whom the conception originated, and by whose unwearied urgency of application the energies and the resources to which it owed its existence may almost be said to have been created. In order, therefore, that a clear and full conception may be formed of the motives which prompted his zeal, and girded up his faculties, for this great work, it will be proper to introduce here his own representation of the objects for the accomplishment of which the college was to be reared. An ample exposition of those objects has, it is true, been

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already submitted to the reader in various extracts from his private and public correspondence. But in no document, perhaps, are his views exhibited with such solemnity and power, as in the masterly discourse delivered by him afterwards in his own cathedral, on the 3d of December, being Advent Sunday, 1820, (not many days before the ceremony of laying the first stone of the building,) and which concludes by calling the attention of the public to the nature of the proposed institution. The text chosen for this admirable sermon, was Ephes. iii. 10.—*To the intent that now, unto principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be known (or made known) by the Church the manifold wisdom of God.*

In considering these words, the Bishop began by observing, that they suggested three topics of meditation:—

1. What is the manifold wisdom of God?

2. Why should it be proclaimed to the Gentiles? And

3. What are the means, by which the work may, and must be carried on, till all the kingdoms of this world are become the "kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ?"

1. The first of these topics, he said, invited us to contemplation of the Divine wisdom, as displayed in the works of creation and of Providence. But the *manifold wisdom of God* chiefly contemplated in the text, was that displayed in

the scheme of man's redemption; a scheme in which mercy is the moving principle—in which holiness is vindicated—in which justice is satisfied—in which our weakness is upholden by Divine support—in which holy desires are instilled into the heart—in which sorrow is comforted—in which repentance is efficacious—in which sin is pardoned—in which God is reconciled—in which the world is overcome,—and, in our last hour, death is deprived of his triumph. If these points were duly and devoutly weighed, it must be concluded that the *wisdom* revealed in this method of redemption, is one among the various and independent proofs that the Scriptures were inspired of God.

2. Another question suggested in the text is, Why should *the manifold wisdom of God* be proclaimed to the Heathen? To this the Apostle himself supplies the answer,—in order that it might thus *be made known to the principalities and powers, in heavenly places,* to those superior intelligencies which surround the throne of God. That *men* may glorify God, when they see our good works, is a consideration perfectly level to our views of duty; but this consideration is potently strengthened by the thought, that even the angels give glory unto Him, when they behold the advancement of his purposes through the piety of their humbler fellow-servants.

If, then, the principalities of Heaven exult in

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the diffusion of the truth among the sons of men, what should be the zeal of them that know the truth, to forward that blessed consummation? And where shall their zeal awaken if it be dormant in this land? In what region of the known world is the truth of God more palpably *turned into a lie?* and where, too, we may ask, do we find more dreadful testimony to that fall from primæval uprightness, which the Gospel was designed to repair? The dislocated strata of the earth attest to the geologist the breaking up of the great deep. Even so, here, does the Christian trace the ruin of the moral world. The best qualities of our nature, and their opposite defects, are here found in immediate contact; the fear, without the knowledge, of God—courtesy without brotherly love—profuseness without public spirit—submissiveness without humility—a consciousness of sin without the want of a Saviour—fortitude without feeling or resignation—a contempt of death without a thought of immortality. Who can look upon these things and not lament them? Who, that laments them, can be backward to administer the remedy?

But then, continued the Bishop, the Christian cannot consent to rest his argument merely on the prospect of temporal advantage or improvement. He who would have *all men to be saved,* would have them also *come to a knowledge of the truth.* Why else is Christ *the way* as well

as *the truth and the life?* Why is it that his disciples were to *preach the Gospel to every creature?* Why is it that he says of himself, that he *came into the world, that he might bear witness to the truth?* He is no witness of the truth to them who know him not. To the Redeemer is promised no less an inheritance than the whole earth. How, then, can Christians listen to this promise without feeling that it commands their exertions for the promotion of his glory and the extension of his kingdom? If the religion of Christ is designed for universal acceptance, the whole race of man are already bound together by ties of spiritual brotherhood. There is now *neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all.*

But, lastly, the Apostle tells us, that *the manifold wisdom of God* should be made known *by the Church.* The Church is the channel which is to diffuse throughout the whole human race a knowledge of the Divine greatness in creation and in Providence, but especially in redemption: and it is accordingly found, that nations become enlightened and happy precisely in proportion to their Christian knowledge; or, in the words of my text, in proportion as *the Church has made known unto them the manifold wisdom of God.*

But what, it may be asked, is *the Church* which St. Paul described as the honoured instrument

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of making known the *manifold wisdom of God?* Doubtless, the "one Catholic and Apostolic Church" of Christ, which, in our Creed we profess to believe. And to this Church it cannot be questioned that the Church of England pre-eminently belongs. Her government is primitive, her doctrines are scriptural, her liturgy breathes the very spirit of the Gospel, her solemnities are reasonable, decent, orderly, and edifying. Many, whom circumstances have fixed in other communions, have acknowledged her to be the Queen of Protestant Churches, and the bulwark of the Protestant cause; and none can deny, that by her moderation she is signally adapted not only to receive, but to retain, the converts of the eastern world, when once they can be brought to renounce the pageantries of superstition for the sobriety and the decency of her impressive worship.

cannot then be imagined, that in the work prescribed to the Church of Christ, that branch of it to which we belong has no part, nor even a subordinate part, to fill. It should seem, indeed, if her duties are to be measured by her means and opportunities, that no Church since the days of the apostles has been called to such high destinies. To what fortuitous coincidence shall we impute it, that at this moment her clergy are exercising their ministry in every quarter of the globe? In America flourishing churches have

grown up entirely under her patronage. In Africa a colony has been planted, by which her doctrines and discipline are brought into contact with the superstitions of ignorant and barbarous tribes. In New South Wales she has a field before her nearly equal in extent to the whole of Europe. And what shall we say of Asia? A vast empire has been given us, or rather imposed upon us; and wherefore? He who can reconcile such a consummation even to philosophical views of the ways of God, without reference to the purposes of His "manifold wisdom" as revealed in Scripture, and can believe it to have been brought about merely for the gratification of our avarice or vanity, cannot have advanced very far in the knowledge which sound philosophy might teach him. It is not merely unchristian, it is unphilosophical, it is unreasonable, to believe that God ever works in vain, or even brings about mighty revolutions with a view to results comparatively mean and trivial.

I cannot conclude, however, without briefly adverting to a topic closely connected with our present discussion, and not unfitly introduced at the present season. Out of the zeal of our church and nation, appealed to by royal authority, and at the instance of an ancient and chartered society, to make known the manifold wisdom of God, an institution is likely to arise in this vicinity, calculated, as we trust, under Providence,

CHAP. XXI. 1820. to advance the glory of God and the highest interests of man. It is designed to be strictly collegiate in constitution, in discipline, and in character: its objects will be the education of Christian youth in sacred knowledge; in sound learning, in the principal languages used in this country, and in habits of piety and devotion to their calling, that they may be qualified to preach among the heathen. The attention of the learned persons connected with it will be directed to making accurate versions of the Scriptures, of the liturgy, and of other holy books: it will endeavour to disseminate useful knowledge by means of schools, under teachers well educated for the purpose; and it will aim at combining and consolidating, so far as may be, into one system, and directing into the same course of sentiment and action, the endeavours which are here made to advance the Christian cause. The favour and patronage of the public in England have been eminently displayed towards the projected institution. The king's letter, granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, has been productive beyond all example; and other religious societies and public bodies have munificently aided the work. It will be evident, however, when the objects are considered, that more abundant means will still be requisite to give to such a plan all the effect of which it is naturally capable;

nothing perhaps equally comprehensive has yet been attempted by any Protestant Church; yet I doubt not that the members of our own, wherever dispersed, will be ready to afford it their assistance, and more especially in India. With a degree of impatience, for which the motive is an ample excuse, some have wished that the established church would show herself more prominently in the great work of diffusing the light of the Gospel through the Eastern world. This duty, though not hitherto so fully discharged as may have been desired, has never been forgotten. In the present endeavour she avails herself of means and opportunities, which until now had been withholden. For their efficacy we trust in the Almighty: at the same time beseeching him to put it into the hearts of all, to whom the appeal shall be made, to further and support an institution having no object but his glory, in making known by the church his manifold wisdom to those who *have the understanding darkened, and are alienated from the life of God.*"—(Eph. vi. 18.)

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The king's letter, alluded to in this sermon, had procured a sum little short of 50,000*l.* in aid of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Of this magnificent and unprecedented collection, that Society, as we have already seen, had anticipated 5000*l.* by a vote to the Bishop of Calcutta, to enable him to extend,

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in any way which he might deem advisable, the operations of the Society in the East; and this sum, increased by the munificent donations from other religious bodies, was immediately devoted by him to the commencement of the building of the college, as soon as he was duly assured that the design was honoured by the approbation of the Church at home, and was likely to receive general and continued support from the public.

In December, 1820, all the preparatory measures for the building were fully matured. The whole plan and arrangement of the intended edifice were the work of the Bishop himself, assisted by Mr. Hawtayne in the selection of the ornaments. The style of architecture adopted by him was such as might be expected from a taste formed at a British university. It was the pure, ancient, collegiate Gothic; a style recommended to us by the most solemn and most delightful associations, and which it seems almost sacrilegious to abandon for a manner connected, more or less, in our thoughts, with the rites and practices of Pagan superstition. The building was to occupy three sides of a quadrangle, each 150 feet in length. It was to comprise within itself all the usual requisites of a college,—a hall, a chapel, and a library, together with the additional advantages of a press. It was to present its open front to the

river; the chapel and hall forming the centre, the houses of the principal and professors, the lecture-rooms, and the apartments for students, being distributed along the wings. The situation chosen for the structure was admirably fitted for the exhibition of its elegance. The ground on which it was to stand is closely adjacent to the Botanical Garden of the Company, and commands the view of a glorious expanse of water, over which every vessel must pass in going to Calcutta; so that it would be impossible for any one to approach the capital of the East without having his eye attracted by this noble monument of Christian piety and munificence. The reader has already been made acquainted with the advantages of the situation in question, by frequent allusions to it in the Bishop's correspondence. On a subject, however, of so much interest, one more extract may perhaps be endured. In a letter to archdeacon Watson, October, 1819, the Bishop had written as follows:—

"Dr. Wordsworth in his charge[1] takes a

[1] The charge here alluded to was addressed by Dr. Wordsworth, then rector of Lambeth, to the missionaries, Laurence Peter Haubroe and David Rosen; and is one of the most powerful and heart-stirring that ever was delivered to persons under a similar destination. The following is the passage more immediately adverted to by the Bishop:—

"Why should I forbear to point at yet higher hopes? Why

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magnificent and ample view of all that relates to Christianity in India. I rejoice to find such sentiments avowed and expanded on such an occasion. It shews that something may now be expected. And when I look at what Dr. Wordsworth has so eloquently expressed, when

refuse, for a moment, to follow, in our argument, where the Divine Providence appears to call? May I not add, that a wide field is now opened, a noble theatre erected, for exertion of the energies and virtues of a great nation? and that the circumstances of the times seem peculiarly to invite England to display herself as a Christian people in the sight of all the nations of the earth?

"We cannot forget that we have ourselves, not long ago, been brought out of a fire of great tribulation: and who does not discern that our present prosperity is, under God, the fruit of those noble principles on which, as a government and a people, we have recently acted towards Africa, towards Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, and other oppressed and afflicted nations of Europe? O that Asia might obtain her due portion! O that we might go on, *and erect, therefore, a national monument of our gratitude for past and present peculiar privileges and blessings*—a monument of praise to the God of battles—an adamantine monument to our fame and His glory,—by giving to the natives of India the *imperishable blessings of the Gospel of peace!* The circumstances of the times—the special circumstances of that part of the empire—the recent and mighty extension and consolidation of our dominion there—the recent enlargement of our spiritual means and opportunities—the circumstances at which the natives are arrived—all converge as to one point; all appear to unite as in one call upon England, to manifest herself to her dependencies, in all her power and dignity, as a Christian people! Be this our praise; be this, at length, our pride!"

he speaks of *erecting a national monument of gratitude*, with reference to Asia, I cannot but apply the passage, in all its strength, to my proposed college of English missions. It will be at once a monument of gratitude to the Almighty; and will conduce, if any thing can conduce, under Divine protection, *to give to the natives the imperishable blessings of the Gospel.* I see the value of such an institution, almost daily in a stronger point of view; and if any endeavour of my life has afforded me real satisfaction, it is my being able to announce to you and our common friends, that I have obtained from government, through the favour of Lord Hastings, the promise of *a site for the building*; all the advantages of which it would be impossible to convey to those who have not a local knowledge of Calcutta. . . . . The piece of ground assigned to the college is about fourteen acres; and whatever be its intrinsic value, its worth is hardly to be estimated, for the purpose in view. Though within three miles of the bustling capital, the college will be as retired and quiet, (being on the opposite side of a river much wider than the Thames at London), as Fulham Palace, or archdeacon Cambridge's at Twickenham. *The spot is remarkably dry.* The banks of the river are healthy. The walk through the adjoining teak grove is more academic than any thing in this neighbourhood:

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and the Botanic Garden, which resembles an English park, would be thought beautiful in any part of the world. Directly opposite are the villas or palaces of Garden Reach. In such a spot the students will be secure from interruption. The river is a barrier which precludes idle visits. Nor is any thing to be apprehended from the encroachments, or future vicinity, of bad neighbours. The teak grove is a part of the Botanic Garden; and on the side is a beautiful estate, which will probably always be the residence of some one of our principal gentry. At any rate, the domain is sufficiently large, let the worst happen, to keep all annoyance at a tolerable distance: and, what is not least important, the situation of your college will be prominent and conspicuous. The river is here our turnpike road; and every stranger who arrives from England, or from the distant presidencies, before he reaches Calcutta, will have occasion to remark a collegiate establishment belonging to the Church of England. I cannot conceive the Church to exhibit herself in a more distinguished or attractive form. In short, in all India, there is not another spot to be placed in competition, excepting only that which adjoins it, to the N.E. and that is no more than equally good. To have obtained it for such a purpose is really a cause of thankfulness with me!"

Of the college designed to stand on this fa-

voured spot, it was the Bishop's wish that the Society for the Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts should become the proprietors. The Bishop of Calcutta, for the time being, was to be the Visitor. Its title was to be "*Bishop's Mission College.*" It was founded originally for a principal and two professors, and for as many students as its funds should enable the Society to maintain, during the period of study, and to provide for, afterwards, in the situations of missionaries, schoolmasters, and catechists, at its various stations. These stations were to be under episcopal jurisdiction, in all matters ecclesiastical or spiritual; and in all other respects were to be responsible to the bishop, in his character of Visitor. As the object of the institution was expressly the propagation of the Gospel, no students were to be admitted who should not propose to devote themselves to that object. Its design was widely and charitably comprehensive, since it embraced all such portions of insular or continental Asia as should at any time be under the protection or authority of Great Britain.

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At length, all preliminary difficulties being surmounted, on the 15th December, 1820, the Bishop had the inexpressible delight of laying, with all due and impressive solemnity, the foundation stone[1] of this noble seminary. That

[1] For a full account of the ceremony, see the Appendix.

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day must have been among the brightest, perhaps the very brightest, of his whole existence. He had lived to see the prosperous beginnings of a work which had cost him many a laborious day, and many a sleepless night; but which had often made his pulse beat high with hope, and had given an excitement to his powers that kept them in vigorous and salutary action. And it may surely be said that, had he accomplished nothing but the foundation of Bishop's College, he would have done enough to render his administration of the see of Calcutta memorable to the end of time.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Bishop proceeds on his visitation to Bombay—Letter to Mr. Norris—Sermon for the Education Society—Letter to Mr. Monk—Notice of the Parsees in Bombay—The Bishop's name introduced in the evidence before the House of Lords on the trial of the Queen—His contradiction of the statement—His personal and domestic habits—Letter of the Bishop to the author—Reflections on the tone of his correspondence.

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When this important and interesting work was despatched, the Bishop had leisure to prepare for his visitation to Bombay. On the 15th of January, 1821, he embarked for that presidency, accompanied by his chaplain, Mr. Hawtayne, in the ship *Susan*, Captain Collingwood, a very old and respectable officer in the East India *country* service. He did not reach Bombay till the 27th of February, where he was received with the same marks of respect as in 1816. He proceeded at once to the house of the chief secretary, a spacious mansion which the government had assigned him for a residence, and had spared no expense in fitting it up for his accommodation. He was here met by archdeacon Barnes, (whose infirm state of health, at the time, had disabled him from attending him on the pier at his landing,) and by

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lieutenant-general the Honourable Sir Charles Colville, G.C.B. and his staff, who were waiting to receive him with due and customary honour. The Governor, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, was, unfortunately absent on a tour in Guzerat, during the whole of the Bishop's stay; so that he was deprived of the gratification of any personal acquaintance with that most able and distinguished person. A letter to his friend Mr. Norris, written shortly after his arrival, will exhibit the state of his views and feelings at this period.

Bombay, March 8, 1821.

My dear Friend,

I arrived here about ten days ago, and found to my great comfort a few English letters; among others your two very interesting ones, of June 17, and July 28. You can have no idea how refreshing these things are to a weary pilgrim like myself, or rather a tempest-tost mariner, when he sets his foot ashore. It is, to speak orientally, as a well of water in the desert. My stay here will be five weeks, during which time (comprising the four first weeks of Lent,) I hope to preach, including an evening lecture, eleven times, besides delivering a charge to the clergy, and an address to the confirmed, examining the children of the school, and preaching for it, consecrating burying-grounds, &c. &c. The weather, however, is exceedingly hot, and of course

very adverse to exertion. But I must do what I can. The worst of it is, that all I can do, *scattered as I am over such a space,* is as nothing. And though, I thank God, I am free from all bodily disease, I do not feel that elasticity of spirits which I once possessed; and cannot but be sensible every moment that I am *impar oneri:* and I must become more so as years advance. I am already in my 53rd year, after which, even in a more temperate climate, man does not improve. CHAP. XXII. 1821.

Since my arrival my time has been almost wholly taken up in receiving calls, and invitations to dinner, some of which, however, I am obliged to decline. I have, however, holden my visitation. The sermon was preached by Mr. Robinson, a son of the late Mr. Robinson of Leicester. I knew what I might expect from him,—good sense, good language, and good doctrine; and I was not disappointed."

The sermon above alluded to was printed with the Bishop's concurrence.

In a subsequent letter to the same correspondent, the latter part of which is dated March 31st, he says, "I am now within two or three days of my departure, and am fairly tired out. Yesterday I consecrated a burying-ground at some distance, and amidst intense heat. Immediately on my return, I was engaged for some

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hours on business with the archdeacons and the registrar, and in the evening (Friday) I preached. I have more business this morning, and in the afternoon must go to consecrate another burying-ground. To-morrow is Sunday: on Monday another burying-ground, with preparations for departure. On Tuesday, probably, I shall embark. . . . . Whether or not I shall be able to send, by a ship from Bombay, the college statutes, I know not. I have, in fact, more to do (and business of an anxious nature) than it is possible to perform satisfactorily in such a climate, where *I sit down to work* in a degree of lassitude, which I hardly ever experienced in England *at the end of it*. It is, indeed, commonly observed, that after the first four or five years, we feel the climate more and more every year, and gradually sink under it, without any visible disease. As to sending out any new man to this country at the age of forty-five or forty-six, to remain fifteen years,—that is, to be absent from England sixteen,—the experiment has never yet been made in any instance but my own; and of many persons so sent out, not more, probably, than one would ever return."

No institution in Bombay gave the Bishop greater satisfaction than the Education Society, to which he was a liberal benefactor. The central schools had been placed under an able master and mistress from the National Society

in London, and now maintained within their walls nearly 100 boys, and more than 50 girls, besides receiving a great number in the daily school. Such was the general interest excited in favour of the establishment, that the annual contributions from individuals, exceeded 18,000 rupees, about 2,000*l.* On the 15th of March, the children underwent a public examination before the Bishop, Sir Charles Colville, the members of council, the archdeacon, Lady Colville, and a numerous assemblage of the principal persons at the presidency. The Bishop strictly examined them, and having expressed himself highly gratified, distributed with his own hand the usual books and medals awarded to those who had made the greatest proficiency.

On the Sunday following, being the second Sunday in Lent, the Bishop, by desire of the managing committee, preached for the Society in St. Thomas's church; the sermon was printed by particular request. His text was from Matthew vii. 13: *Wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction.* After some general and judicious remarks on the awful truth conveyed in the text, the Bishop observed "that it supplied a motive to the discharge of two, the most momentous of our Christian duties: we are to be solicitous for our own salvation, and enquire whether we are ourselves by the grace of God in the narrow path

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which alone leadeth unto life; we are next to be careful for the salvation of others, and to guide them, if possible, in the right way. Considerations arising out of the former of these are, indeed, peculiarly well adapted to the present solemn season; but the latter seemed to prefer a stronger claim to your attention, when we advert to the special object of this address." "A general concern," (he continues), "for the salvation of all men, however unconnected with us, is the Christian frame of mind: it is, in fact, the highest and holiest charity, combined with a zeal for the honour of religion and the glory of God. In the discharge of the pastoral office, or even in the exercise of private friendship, or public charity, we must never despair of reclaiming the obdurate, even though they are far advanced in life: but experience holds out greater encouragements in the case of the young, who as yet cannot be said to have commenced their journey, either in the broad or narrow way, but have yet to choose. We can train them in such habits and sentiments, and cherish in them such dispositions, as will generally lead them to prefer the right way." From this introduction the Bishop proceeds to remark on the benefits of a Christian education, with particular reference to the class of persons, for whom he was now pleading:

"Education, then, is the instrument committed

by Providence to the hands of the Christian, who, moved by the alarming declaration in the text, that the majority of mankind are pursuing the road to death, would interfere to save some: and if we can conceive a case, in which it is especially incumbent upon Christians to exert themselves in such a work of charity, it is surely in the country which we now inhabit. The situation of the children of the poor in England, with all the dangers which attend it (and they are not few) is a state of security compared with that of poor European children in India. At home, to say nothing of the stupendous improvements recently introduced by the National Society, there have, for many years, been schools in most of the populous districts, in which the elements of Christian knowledge might be acquired: and employments for those who were industriously disposed, might always be found in agriculture, in manufactures, or in trade. There too, children bereft of their parents, have probably other relatives, who though, unable to render them effectual aid, can still afford them some protection: and the system of parish relief, (little as it is adapted to the present state of the country, so materially changed in its circumstances since that system was first established,) is yet such as to provide, that none shall actually perish. Besides all this, there is what may be denominated a *Christian influence*, which power-

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fully operates in a Christian land: the charity of individuals supplies, in some measure, any defect in the public institutions. How many children of faithful servants have always been sent to school by the benevolence of their employers: and even they who have not been regularly trained in Christian principles, are yet within the reach of them: they cannot be thrown into a situation, where the name of Christ is unknown; and the division of the whole country into parishes, in most of which there is a resident clergyman, and where the offices of religion are regularly administered, affords, if not a guarantee that all shall be trained in Christian knowledge, at least an opportunity of acquiring it, to all who, from any cause, shall be prompted to desire it.

But how stands the case with respect to India? It exhibits a gloomy contrast to the state of things which has now been detailed to you, bad as we are accustomed to consider it at home. Schools, adapted generally to the reception of poor Christian children, were till lately unknown in the distant provinces, and still are few. The employments open to the industry of those who are wholly without education, must, of course, in a country where the agriculture, and manufactures, and much of the trade, are in other hands, be very limited and precarious. A child too, who is here bereft of his parents, has probably not a relative or friend in the country: and

it often happens that of the two supports, which nature has given to helpless infancy, the one, which is frequently found in England to be the more efficient, is here nearly useless, or sometimes even worse than useless, in a Christian view. Through the influence of native mothers, the daughters at least, and sometimes the sons, of Europeans have been lost to the faith of Christ. There are cases, too, in which the father is ordered to Europe, and must leave his children behind him: the camp, or the barrack, or the bazar, is their only place of refuge. There have, indeed, been instances of the most generous and exemplary humanity, exercised by persons on whom the orphan has had no natural claims, and whose means of doing good have been exceedingly circumscribed: the ebullitions of truly Christian pity will burst forth, whenever the feeling is excited: but its operation must be partial and fortuitous, where public institutions are wanting, and charity is not organised into system. In this country, moreover, the objects of charity, of whom we are speaking, are exceedingly dispersed: their distresses, unless there be a motive to enquire for cases of distress, in the hope of relieving them, are not easily brought to light; the casualties and misfortunes, which befal the poor, are scarcely heard of. In a *Christian* neighbourhood nothing which deeply affects its meanest member, is unknown, or altogether

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without interest; but the state of society is here very different. In its most favourable circumstances, from its fluctuating nature, we hardly attain to an interchange of sympathies between the different classes, and but rarely between persons of the same class. And as to a generally pervading *Christian influence*, it is not to be expected: Christianity is not here sufficiently advanced; it covers too small a space: it is not always well established in the minds of those who come hither from a Christian country: and the probability is not very great, that it will afterwards gain an ascendency over them. We have here, speaking with reference to the extent over which our countrymen are scattered, but few churches, few clergy, and few Christian institutions: and Christian associations, strongly as they are felt in some minds, derive, for the most part, but little aid from local circumstances. Paganism is in possession of the millions who constitute the people: and it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to suppose, that it has not influences of its own, from the operation of which even Europeans are not altogether exempt.

"It was in such a state of things, and probably from the contemplation of circumstances such as those which have now been detailed, that your Education Society was first established, and commenced those labours of love, which appear thus far to have had the blessing of Al-

mighty God: the institution has, indeed, been munificently supported by the Christian community throughout this presidency; and it appears, as its merits are more generally understood, to be continually gaining strength. It might seem, then, superfluous to dwell upon its excellencies: at the same time, I should hardly fulfil the object of this day's solemnity, if I contented myself with general commendation, and abstained from all notice of the specific benefits which, with the continued blessing of God, these schools may be expected to produce.

"Chiefly, then, no doubt, and most obviously, will benefit redound to the individuals who are the objects of your care. View them only in their present state, and in connection with the prospects which are opening upon them, and then contrast with it what they probably *would* have been, if abandoned to their natural condition. The mind can hardly imagine any thing more wretched: poverty, and ignorance, and vice, and habits perhaps little removed from those of the lowest and most depraved of the natives, would, in the natural course of things, have been their portion: but what is the state in which you have actually placed them? It has nothing in it, which, in the estimation of the proud and the luxurious, might redeem it from contempt: but, in a Christian view, it is all which the well-being and even the happiness of man can

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require: food and raiment suited to their condition—Christian instruction, and that elevation of mind and character, which it almost invariably tends to inspire—habits of attention and industry—the practice of early piety—and such of the elements of useful knowledge, as may fit youth of both sexes respectively for subordinate, though useful, stations in life;—these are the benefits which you confer upon all whom you take under your protection. Without presumption we indulge a hope, that the seed thus sown will in very few instances be thrown away: similar institutions, which have been sufficiently long established to furnish the result of experience, have been blessed with abundant fruits. All experience, indeed, tends to prove, that education is the most powerful, and, at the same time, the most manageable engine of good which has been committed to man. In the fulfilment of prophecy, respecting the coming of Christ's kingdom, we may especially apply to the influence of Christian education that saying, that *the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.*—Isaiah xxxv. 1.

"But the benefits which such an institution confers, are not confined to the individuals for whom they are immediately intended: the state will be a gainer in every instance, in which your labours of love shall not have been wholly ineffectual. On this point, indeed, I am well aware,

that the fears of some, and those, too, good and enlightened men, will not allow them to concur with me without considerable reservation, at least in the circumstances of India: it is, however, in those circumstances especially, that I would plead the cause of education. It is said, indeed, and truly said, that knowledge is power; but is it necessarily *hostile* power? And further, may we not expect, even if we withhold knowledge, that power will still exist; and that too decidedly and inveterately hostile to those interests, which we are most solicitous to maintain? To the former of these questions it may be answered, that the power conveyed by knowledge is not necessarily *hostile*. Mere knowledge, indeed, unaccompanied with any principles, which shall regulate or restrain it, is a tremendous implement of evil; and how to convey these principles is the problem which perplexes us with regard to the education, or, more properly, the instruction, of the natives. For, education is a different thing: we can give them knowledge, but we are for the present precluded from giving them religion. But this difficulty applies but very partially to the present institution: in these schools religion and useful knowledge are blended together: the mischiefs attendant on mere knowledge are neutralised: they are more, I trust. Knowledge in minds which have been trained in Christian principles, con-

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stitutes a power, which will generally be subservient to good. But even if we withhold knowledge, will not power be created without our aid? and what will be its character? We know that at this moment the most noxious opinions, as they relate to religion, to morals, and to politics, the very opinions which threaten to subvert our constitution at home, are disseminated through every part of India: and on what class of persons are they calculated more immediately to operate? Not surely upon educated English gentlemen; nor, in the first instance, upon the natives: for they are hardly in a state at present to enter into such discussions, though they are advancing to it: but primarily and directly upon that very class of society, the children of which you are here training up in piety, and order, and submission to authority, and in grateful attachment to their benefactors; and many of whom, unless by such means we take care to have them with us, will, in any hour of trial, almost certainly be against us. To shut them out from *all* knowledge, if it were your policy, is not within your power. Such policy, indeed, could hardly be reconciled to any liberal or humane feeling: but we have not the means of adopting it. The children of the class, to which I refer, will acquire a knowledge and a power of evil, if we train them not in a knowledge of good. Causes are in operation, over

which we have no other control; and the question seems to be, whether when our bark is launched into the ocean, and the tempest begins to blow, we shall endeavour to steer the vessel through all dangers, or let it drive? *You* are adopting the former course; you give knowledge, indeed, which is power: it is the force which impels the vessel, and without which it were stationary and useless; but you labour to conduct it to the haven where it should be, by placing religion at the helm.

"But there is one other view in which your labours may be regarded, and which should be briefly noticed. You do not probably consider yourselves as directly advancing the Christian cause among the idolaters around you: *directly*, indeed you are not; but indirectly, I conceive, and largely, are you contributing to this desirable and blessed end; and in a way too, to which the most cautious and timid cannot possibly object. You are reforming the lower order of Europeans; and it cannot be doubted, that the habits of Europeans of the lower class, as well as those of their superiors, have had a considerable effect in retarding the progress of the Gospel. How, indeed, can we expect, that the heathen will forsake their idols, overpowered by the beauty of the Christian system, where they see it disfigured, and distorted, and rendered almost disgusting? With what consistency or common

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sense can we attempt to persuade them to believe in Christ, when professed believers are acting as if they were the most hardened of infidels? Or how shall we gain a hearing for the evidences of our faith, while we are strengthening, as much as we can, the prejudices against its truth? In the early ages, it was not by preaching alone, even after the cessation of the miraculous powers, that paganism was induced to take up the cross of Christ. It was by observing the surprising effects produced by the Gospel in the hearts and lives, not merely of eminent saints and preachers, but of the lowest among those who had embraced it. The Christians had a distinguishing character: they believed in Christ, and they bore in their habits the impress of their faith. They were more honest, more temperate, more peaceable, than the pagans, with whom they were liable to be compared. Men were not, indeed, thus to be immediately converted: but the tide of prejudice was turned, and they were ready to listen at least to the advocates of the Gospel, and to listen favourably. The inference was natural and just, that what was thus excellent in its effects, might probably be true. We shall have cause to bless God, if the day arrive, when the same presumption shall operate in favour of the Gospel in India: we may then presume to hope, that 'the redemption of this people draweth nigh.'

"But while I touch upon these collateral topics, let me not depress in your estimation the importance of that to which I first adverted, and which alone is your immediate concern; it is the saving of the souls of poor children for their own sakes, and for the sake of Christ. Their whole case is contained in the declaration of my text: *they are cast into a world, where wide is the gate that leadeth to destruction;* but under your parental guidance and love they are directed to seek the narrow path; and by God's blessing they shall find it. But while you exult in these happy expectations, and thank the God of all mercies for having used you as his humble instruments, let me remind all who hear me, that delightful as is the spectacle now before us, a very different one may be witnessed in the world. What are these children, numerous as they are, to the hundreds, who are still without? Before *them* the broad way and the wide gate are open still; and most of them will enter thereat, if there be none to divert them from their course. Labour, therefore, to increase the resources of this Christian establishment. Give of your abundance, if God hath blessed you; or withhold not of the little which he may have committed to your stewardship. Some trifling gratification, not essential to your happiness, and of which not a vestige would on the morrow perhaps remain, is the utmost sacrifice to be

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made in the amplest contribution. You are now called upon to make some sacrifice, whatever it may be, as an 'offering for a sweet smelling savour' unto Christ your Redeemer, who will graciously accept it, and place it among your 'treasure in Heaven.'"

The collection at the doors of the church amounted to nearly 1,300 rupees, about 140*l.*

The following extract from a letter to Mr. Ward has something of a melancholy interest, as it indicates the same apprehension of approaching infirmity and decay, which occasionally breaks out in his other correspondence; and as it exhibits the impression made on his spirits by the rapid fluctuations incident to Anglo-Indian Society.

Bombay, March 20, 1821.

My dear Friend,

I believe you know that I was pleased with Bombay when I was last here, four years and a half ago. The town is much the same, composed of old, and generally shabby buildings, placed upon a very beautiful spot: the harbour, indeed, studded with islands, (Elephanta one of them,) and having for the back ground noble hills on the main land, reminds me of the views of sea-ports in Italy. But though nature remains, man is evanescent: the society of the place in this short interval is very considerably changed: a new

governor, a new commander-in-chief, and mem- CHAP. XXII.
bers of council, a new recorder, &c. &c.: the
clergy much the same, except that one is gone 1821.
to the Cape in bad health, and the archdeacon sadly altered, and looking ten years older. At this rate, if my own life be preserved, I shall in a few years have outlived every body in India. People begin to consider Mrs. Middleton and myself as rather rare specimens; we have, I believe, much to be thankful for; but though we are for the present free from disease, I suspect we are growing old. In India, climate every year has a considerable effect. Mrs. Middleton indeed seems as active as ever; but I find that I cannot go through fatigue so well as I could. Perhaps the writing about such things, is rather symptomatic of decay.

We went yesterday (the first day which I could call my own,) with the commander-in-chief, Sir C. Colville, the archdeacon, and two or three others, to Elephanta, though we had seen it before: but the scenery is enough to repay the trouble; every body was highly pleased, and nothing could be more delightful. As to the cavern itself, you may see the best account of it that probably can be given, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, by Mr. Erskine, who was one of the party yesterday, a man of great learning in all such matters. Even the Hindoo deities

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seem to feel the effects of time: I thought I perceived that some of them had suffered dilapidation since I saw them last.

I am sorry that I have hardly another fortnight to remain here; my whole stay will have been five weeks. I am delivering a Lent lecture, and in order to get through the course, I preach, not only on Friday, but on Sunday evenings, as well as on Sunday mornings, on other subjects. The exertion is considerable in such a climate, especially in the evening, when the heat is increased by the blaze of two or three hundred candles. Our united love to Mrs. Ward, and the family.

Yours ever affectionately,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

Before he left Bombay, the Bishop addressed an interesting letter to Mr. Monk of Trinity College, Cambridge, the successor of Porson in the Greek chair of that university; since promoted to the deanery of Peterborough; and, in 1830, most worthily elevated to the see of Gloucester. The former part of this communication is omitted, as it relates entirely to the foundation of Bishop's College, a subject nearly exhausted in other parts of this memoir. The remainder adverts to more general matters, and is here inserted.

Bombay, March 27, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

. . . . . I have not been able since I left England to indulge myself in the luxury of reading Greek, nor, of course, to take precisely the same interest in your critical labours which I should have done under other circumstances. Here my time is almost wholly absorbed in official duties and correspondence; or if I am ever left at liberty to expatiate in any thing like enquiry, it is only into subjects connected, more or less remotely, with my duties; as into the condition, and opinions, and literature, such as it is, of the people around me. Even this, indeed, may sometimes contribute to illustrate classical antiquity. Homer, I observe, abounds in orientalisms, and has even oriental words, peculiar to himself, among the writers of Greece; and, having the Ion of Euripides with me, when I travelled among the pagodas in the south of India, I could not but feel that the manners and circumstances were brought before me in a degree which I could not have experienced in England. These eastern countries, indeed, teem with illustrations both of biblical and classical learning. Habits and usages which, in England, are matters of grave disquisition, here meet us in the streets!

But though I have not been able to read all that you have written in the way of criticism, I

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was much delighted with the stand which you made, in defence of the university, against *botanical invasion.* I know Sir J. E. Smith very well, and believe him to be, in every respect, but that of his theological opinions and connections, quite unexceptionable. But I quite agree with you, that if dissenters may be elected to fill professorships, even though it be to teach nothing more than botany, there is an end of Cambridge, as a grand seminary for those who are to be the pillars of the Church and State. Your pamphlet, however, contains a great deal of collateral matter, which every true son of Cambridge must have rejoiced to see brought fully and prominently before the public.

I have been here about a month on my visitation, and am, in a few days, to embark for Ceylon. The most remarkable class of natives here are the Parsees, who are, I doubt not, in their usages, and, I suspect, in their general appearance, very exact representations of the Persians who lived in the days of Herodotus. Among other things, either he, or some one of the Greek historians, (I forget which, and have not here the means of reference,) mentions that the Persians marry but once in the year, at the vernal equinox. The streets here have been crowded with Parsee processions, as a part of the nuptial celebration, and I have been almost deafened with their music. They retain not,

however, the ancient language of Persia, except in their sacred books, which they read, or rather sing, every morning and evening, standing on the sea-shore, *but without understanding a sentence.*

Mrs. Middleton accompanies me on these long voyages, and retains her health better than could be expected in this trying climate. I believe she is sufficiently known to you to be justified in offering her compliments.

I am, my dear sir,

With great esteem and regard,

Your very faithful servant,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

A particular and able account of the sacred books and religion of the Parsees, here mentioned by Bishop Middeton, may be seen in the second volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, written by William Erskine, Esq. No religion on earth, that of the Jews excepted, has continued from such remote times as that of the Parsees, with so little apparent change of doctrine or ritual. The whole system is founded on the supposition of a continued warfare between good and evil spirits, which fill all nature; and religion is the art of gaining the aid of the former, and, by due observance of the law, of inducing them to assist the votaries of Ormazd, against the wiles and machinations of Ahrimân. The great visible objects of vene-

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ration are the elements, and especially fire. Light is regarded as the best and noblest symbol of the Supreme, who is without form. In consequence of this veneration for light and fire, the sun, moon, planets, stars, and the heavens themselves, are objects of peculiar respect; and in praying they delight to turn to them, especially to the rising sun. Xenophon, in his Cyropædia, represents the Persian Mági, as celebrating the gods in hymns from break of day, which agrees with the Persian ritual, and is conformable with the practice, as remarked by the Bishop in Bombay. It is Strabo who mentions[1] that the Persian marriages were celebrated at the vernal equinox; but in India the time is generally fixed by a Hindoo astrologer. They never bury the bodies of their dead for fear of defiling the earth; but leave them to moulder away, and to be consumed by the birds of prey. Their sokhmahs, or places of sepulchre, have often been described. They are round towers, having platforms or terraces near the top, sloping gently to the centre, in which is a round hole for receiving the bones and decayed matter. On these the dead bodies are laid exposed to the wind, rain, and to the birds of the air. The dead body is dressed in clean, but old clothes, and conveyed to the place of sepulture on an iron bier; the bearers

[1] Geogr. lib. xv.

are tied to each other by a piece of tape to deter, as they allege, by their union, the wicked demons who hover round the body from defiling them.

The Bishop, both at this time, and on his former residence at Bombay, received visits from Mulla Firoz, a destur, or priest, of the Parsees, held in high and just estimation, from his acknowledged literary superiority. The Parsees are remarkably free from such restraints as present the great obstacles to the improvements of the Mussulmans or Hindoos. They are more like Europeans than any other class of natives in southern Asia; and, being less restrained by ancient and acknowledged law, are more prepared to adopt any change of which they see the benefit. The number of Parsees in Bombay is estimated at 13,000; they are known to have emigrated originally from Persia, to avoid the persecutions of the Mahomedans.

The Bishop had often expressed an earnest desire to visit Poonah, Surat, and others of the principal stations under this presidency. But he was again warned by the season, which was already beginning to get warm, that he should scarcely be able to accomplish this, and to spend any time also in Ceylon, before the setting in of the south-west monsoon, early in June; by which time he was particularly anxious to be in Calcutta, where he had reason to expect the

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arrival from England of the first professors for the college, together with some important despatches from London. The omission, however, is perhaps the less to be regretted, as archdeacon Barnes had, with the Bishop's concurrence, taken on himself, personally, to visit the chaplains in his archdeaconry. But no provision was made for the expenses of archdeacons' visitations, and the Court of Directors have, to this day, declined to sanction any public disbursement for this necessary and important duty.

While the Bishop was at Bombay, he received the disagreeable intelligence that his name had been introduced into the House of Lords in the course of the evidence produced at the trial of the Queen. The reader will recollect that an attempt was made to vindicate the conduct of that illustrious lady, in being present at a dance of a very questionable description, in which a person by the name of Mahomet was the performer; and, among other topics of vindication, it was alleged, that a personage no less venerable than the Bishop of Calcutta had been present at a similar performance, exhibited at the government-house, by the invitation of the Governor-general. As a reference to the example of the Bishop on such an occasion was likely to be very mischievous, especially in society like that of Calcutta, his lordship did not lose a moment in

meeting it with a public contradiction: and that the sinister impression might not remain unefaced in this country, he immediately wrote home to request that the same contradiction might be inserted in the London newspapers. It will be proper that the reader should be in possession of the Bishop's own statement relative to this matter, contained in a letter to his friend Mr. Norris.

Bombay, April 7, 1821.

My dear Sir,

I now write, merely to request that you would get the paragraph relating to me in the enclosed newspaper copied into the Courier, or some other London paper. It appears that my name (I should have thought the thing impossible,) had been used in the House of Lords in the affair of the Queen; and I suspect, from the tenor of a letter in the Courier of the 17th of October last, that some mirth was excited by the evidence. I have availed myself, as soon as possible, of the means of refutation: not that the charge is very serious; but still, it represents me in no *very professional* point of view. The witness is a Mr. ———, an inmate in my family at the time. I suppose he is a zealous advocate for the Queen, and wished to shew that her amusements, of which so much had been said, were not more exceptionable than those of a certain bishop! But, as his topic was no better than that Ma-

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homet must have danced decently before the Queen, because a Hindoo woman had danced decently at Calcutta, his evidence might have been spared. *The fact, however, of my being there, is utterly untrue.* He did me the favour of taking charge of the ladies of my family, while I remained with my books and business at home. I am not quite sure that I was asked, but I could safely swear that I was not there."

In a subsequent letter, to the same correspondent, he reverts to the same subject.

Calcutta, September 3, 1821.

My dear Sir,

In reply to that part of your letter which relates to her Majesty the Queen, I rejoice to find, from the latest accounts, that the *mania* has subsided, and that this august personage, as to any political influence or effect, now lives only in history. I hope from henceforth that she will be only an historical personage, and nothing more. After the escape which the country has had, I am almost ready to believe that, asbestos-like, it is indestructible by fire! My own unfortunate introduction into the House of Lords, I mentioned in a letter from Bombay as soon as I heard of it. Lord Hastings was very indignant at the dragging in of the subject of the government-house; and immediately wrote to the lord-

chancellor, explaining, as was the truth, that there had been *no dance* at his house, the mere movement of the woman's feet, while she was singing, not deserving the name. Lord Hastings sent me a copy of his letter, though I am not mentioned in it. The object is to shew that it mattered not who was there, which I believe to be perfectly true. I made no objection to Mrs. Middleton's going; nor should I to a daughter of sixteen, if I had one. *I never go, however, to any thing of the kind:* I have my reasons for it, and think it better not. My situation is very peculiar; and I would make any sacrifices to it, if such things were sacrifices, which is by no means the case. In truth, I have not time enough for what, directly or indirectly, constitutes duty; and if I go out at all, it is that I may not incur a degree of ill-will, which would make my endeavours more ineffectual than they are."

So much for this extremely absurd, but, it is to be hoped, not, wilful or malicious, misrepresentation. In truth, if there was any one part of the character of Bishop Middleton, in which he was more invulnerable than another, it was in the tenor of his private life and personal habits. In these, he was a model of episcopal propriety and consistency. He had *his household in subjection with all gravity.* His

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family was a pattern of order and quiet, of decorum and of piety. His principle was to abstain even from going to the limits of what was lawful, well knowing that if he actually touched upon those boundaries, others would, most infallibly, step beyond them. His demeanour and life, in short, were a perpetual and visible lesson, not only to his clergy, but to the whole European community of Calcutta; and there can be no doubt that the influence of his example was such as to entitle him to the gratitude of every friend to virtue and religion. His presence, accordingly, gave a dignity to the ecclesiastical body which it never had before; and it was remarked by one of the chaplains who returned to India from England in 1817, that he perceived, even then, a most astonishing alteration in the public mind and the state of manners at Calcutta. It is not, however, to be inferred from all this, that the habits of the Bishop were unsocial or morose. He maintained during the whole of his life in India a liberal hospitality, such as became a Christian prelate; and no man was better fitted than he to grace the moderate enjoyments of the table with the pleasures of rich and varied conversation. But nothing that savoured of frivolity or levity ever had any sanction or countenance from him. He came to India for the purpose of accomplishing a mighty and sacred work; and to that

work he was devoted, with all his resources and all his faculties. To him, a waste of time, or a waste of moral influence, appeared to be almost sacrilegious. It was, accordingly, notorious that his life was one of severe and almost incessant labour. It was observed of him, after his death, by a most respectable native, who had been in his employ, and who almost worshipped his memory, that "*Lord Middleton* was always to be found in his library—always among his papers and his books—always writing or reading —always doing business—morning, noon, and night!" Nothing could well be more ridiculous than the insinuation that such a man would lower himself by appearing at a *nâtch*, or at any thing which had the slightest resemblance to one. He was once, indeed, invited by one of the rich natives to witness the celebration of one of their greatest festivals, the Doorga Poojah, with an assurance that the *dancing* should cease the instant he appeared. It is needless to add, that he declined the invitation.

The following letter, written to the author the day after the Bishop's embarkation, gives a very pleasing retrospect of his visitation at Bombay. It is dated on board the ship *Susan*, near Bombay, April 10, 1821:

"It is not very easy to write to our friends when we are at sea; and yet there is no situation in which I am more apt to think of mine.

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Committed to the wide world of waters, it seems natural for the mind to turn to the world from which we are separated; and, in that world, there is but little of any real value to us, but the few contained in it whom we respect and esteem; and who, as we flatter ourselves, are actuated by somewhat of a kindred sentiment in return. . . . . You will observe, that I date from my ship. I left Calcutta three months ago, and after passing six weeks at Bombay on my visitation, I embarked for Ceylon, meaning, however, to stop two or three days at Cochin, to have an interview, if possible, with my old acquaintance the bishop of the Indo-Syrians. My time at Bombay has been passed very pleasantly. Indeed I have a strong affection for the place. The town is old and shabby, but the situation is beautiful. The harbour studded with hilly islands, and having a back ground of purple mountains, has been considered, by those who have seen both, to be equal with the Bay of Naples. I cannot make the comparison; but it is a picturesque spot; and I sometimes think that, when worn out with fatigue, and become more useless than ever, and having any reason to conclude that I was forgotten by all in England, I could be well-content to sit down in a cottage on one of its bold and breezy promontories, there, in *a Christian sense, Ducere solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.* But while I write thus of

Bombay, I would not have you think that I have been merely enjoying the beauties of the scene. I have been holding my visitation and a confirmation, and have examined the schools, and have preached for them, and have been consecrating burying-grounds, and have been in the pulpit twice, and generally three times, in a week (it being Lent) during my stay. The governor, Mr. Elphinstone, is absent on a tour in the provinces: but his representative, Sir Charles Colville, has been abundant in his attentions, and even accompanied me to the pier when I embarked. This morning we passed within a mile of the *Leander*, Admiral Sir Henry Blackwood, who knew my ship, *and in courtesy lowered his topsails.* How strange is the life of a bishop in this country."

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In the same letter he adverts, with pride and satisfaction, to the appointment of Mr. Mill to the office of principal of the rising college at Calcutta. "I am glad," he says, "to find that my principal professor, (for the *principal* must *profess* and even *teach*), is a Fellow of Trinity (πρόσωπον τηλαυγὲς), Mr. Mill, a man of great talent, I expect. He and his colleague, Mr. Alt, of Pembroke, arrived at Calcutta soon after my departure. Mr. Alt is said to be eminent in Hebrew; you are probably aware that the Arabic Professor Lee was a candidate for the first place, and that Mr. Whittaker, the champion who slew Bellamy, wished much to have it.

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This is noble competition, and does honour to the projected institution."

Part of the above extracts, it will be observed, are somewhat tinged with the melancholy, arising from the anxious solicitude of his office, which more or less pervades his correspondence, and which became deeper as the weight of years and difficulties increased upon him. In the midst of his most gratifying duties, the sense of feebleness and decay would occasionally steal over his spirits. It may not be without its use to record these painful vicissitudes of feeling—these ebbings and flowings of hope and animation. They may teach us one invaluable lesson, that our usefulness is not to be estimated by the *discernible* progress which, at any particular moment, we are making in our pursuits, or by the distinctness of our perceptions as to the hopefulness of our labours. Here was a man placed in a position of arduous responsibility, constantly harassed with apprehensions that he was toiling in vain—that he was consuming his strength for nought—and writing characters on the sand; and who, yet, was, all this while, engraving on the rock—was engaged in a work which would be as an everlasting possession to posterity—was doing nearly all, that individual energy could do, towards improving the condition of the human race—and was impressing, as it were, an indelible memorial of himself on

all succeeding generations. Of him it might be truly said, that *when he was weak; then was he strong*—when he was weighed down to the earth with a sense of his own infirmity, then was he in the very plenitude and potency of his usefulness. To him was, perhaps, denied the satisfaction of surveying clearly the good of which he was the honoured instrument; for, if a life of faith, rather than sight, becomes each individual Christian, much more is to be expected in a shepherd and bishop of the Christian Church. To us, however, who look back upon his history, his prosperous advance in the work whereto he was appointed, is a matter of triumphant certainty; and it is not, surely, presumptuous to hope that the contemplation of it may, in a better world, be his own eternal and exceeding great reward.

Among the distressing trials which he had to encounter, may be reckoned the occasional opposition and interference of the authorities at home. This, perhaps, was a source of difficulty which might not unreasonably have been anticipated. It was hardly to be expected that a new office should be introduced into the Indian system, without calling into action some degree of jealous vigilance. It should, however, be mentioned, to the honour of the British residents in India, that, whenever they were left to their own natural impulses, they habitually testified the

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deepest respect for the Bishop and his office; that they gave the most munificent support to his designs—that they invariably received his suggestions with deference and thankfulness,—and listened with reverence and delight to his admirable discourses.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Bishop lands at Cochin—Interview with the Syrian bishop—Arrival at Colombo—Ordination of Mr. Armour—Attention of Sir Edward Barnes—Intended entertainment to the Bishop—Extracts from Mr. Hawtayne's journal—Mrs. Gibson's school at Point de Galle—Mission at Cuddalore.

On the 10th of April, the Bishop sailed from Bombay, and, on the 19th, landed at Cochin, for the purpose of observing the condition of the Syrian Church, and of paying a visit of respect and honour to its metropolitan. He had heard it stated that there was great reason to hope for a rapid approximation of this ancient and venerable community to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and that it was actually in contemplation to introduce the English Liturgy into the Syrian service. Part of a letter of the Bishop's, to Mr. Norris, dated at sea, April 21, 1821, Coast of Travancore, will best shew the result of his enquiries on this subject.

. . . . . "I was with the Syrian bishop yesterday from seven till nine, A.M., having no

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other person present but an interpreter, whom I could trust. The result is, that the Syrians are much in the same state in which I left them four years and a half ago; that there is no visible approximation to the Church of England; and that, if ever there should be, it will be communicated to the bishop of that Church in India. The Church missionaries do, indeed, expound in their own church to all who will hear them; and this is well received by the people, to whom it is something new; but the bishop assures me that nothing is done which he has any reason to complain of. . . . . The bishop resides at the Syrian college, where the missionaries act as professors. He told me that they had not begun to print at the Syrian college. I told him that we would have a Syrian press at the college at Calcutta, if he would send me one of his clergy to assist me. He smiled, and said he did not think any of them could be prevailed upon to go to such a distance: they were very unwilling to quit their own parishes for more than a day at a time. However I think I shall get one of them over. We should print in Syriac, as well as in the learned languages; and the time, I hope, will come, when the college of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, will be as famous for its learned publications as the Romish Propagandâ."

After this interview, the Bishop re-embarked;

and on Easter-day, April 22, he was off Cape Comorin; from which he thus continues his letter: CHAP. XXIII. 1821.

"I am now off the most southerly point of the continent of India, amidst some of the finest scenes I ever beheld; a rather low coast, fenced in with rocks, and of which the soil is a rich red, chequered with green groves; with "Pelion upon Ossa," in the rear, and the coast studded with villas, and villages, and *churches*. I have been performing the whole of the duty, the prayers, the sermon, and the sacrament, without any help; and the day being one of the hottest I have ever known, I am somewhat tired; and yet there is a singular pleasure in solemnizing our blessed service in such a spot, though but few were gathered together. Mrs. Middleton, the captain, and the first officer, made up my whole congregation; the other mate being a Romanist, and the rest of the crew either Romish or Mahometan."

His next visit was to Ceylon, where he was received with the most marked respect. A furnished house had been prepared for his accommodation, lately inhabited by Sir Alexander Johnstone, chief justice, who had very recently sailed for England. It was pleasantly situated at Colpetty, a collection of agreeable residences along the shore, about three miles distant from the "King's House" in the Fort.

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His occupations, during his short and busy residence there, shall be described in his own words[1]:

"I have passed between five and six weeks in Ceylon, which have not been unemployed. The weather indeed was very sultry; my residence was not the coolest, and I was a mile and a quarter from the church, with no other conveyance than a palanquin. However, I bless God there was only one day on which my strength failed me, and I became wholly useless. During my stay I had a visitation, two confirmations, three consecrations of churches or burying-grounds, preached four times, and *resuscitated* the Promoting of Christian Knowledge district committee, and looked into the state of the schools; and, what is of most consequence, I got together a body of information respecting the ecclesiastical affairs, which will furnish matter for a paper to be addressed to his majesty's government. I may add, I believe, that I have so far explained the objects and advantages of the college, with reference to Ceylon, that it will not want patronage and support in that quarter. In all this, I trust that some little good has been done; and I mention it more in the way of thankfulness than from any other cause. Without, indeed, some faint hope that my endeavours

[1] In a letter, dated Bay of Bengal, June 7, 1821.

to advance the good cause were accepted of Providence. I could not endure the weariness of these frequent voyages, and the severance from my friends and all congenial society.". CHAP. XXIII. 1821.

In adverting to the resuscitation of the district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Bishop refers to the necessity which he found of animating, by his presence and superintendence, the movements of that valuable auxiliary, which, during his long absence, had become comparatively languid. His lordship, however, experienced but little difficulty in reforming and invigorating its proceedings. In performing this duty he had the ready co-operation of the governor, Sir Edward Barnes [1], who, at the Bishop's desire, summoned a meeting of the committee, at which Sir Edward, as representative of royalty, took the chair; but left the conduct of the proceedings to the Bishop, whom he assisted, on this occasion, not merely by his presence, but by his intelligent counsels and suggestions. "I ought in justice to add," says the Bishop, "that the governor increased his attentions to me during my stay, till nothing really could surpass them. To his honour be it said, he attended every solemnity in which I was engaged, (a thing of great importance with respect

[1] Whom the author has the honour to number among his school-fellows and early friends.

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to the natives,) and, having a country-house seven miles from Colombo, on the way to Galle, where I was to embark, he went over on purpose to give me a breakfast there, and to bid me farewell. A grand entertainment was to have been given me, in the preceding week, in a beautiful temporary structure, on the road to Kandy; but when all the preparations had been made, in a manner which had never been surpassed, to the governor's heavy disappointment, as well as my own, a deluge came down from the mountains, and laid the road under water, so as to cut off our approach. The governor, Sir E. Barnes, is one of the most distinguished of the Waterloo generals, and certainly a man of great talent." It must have been signally gratifying to the Bishop to find in so illustrious a representative of the king, the most cordial ally of the Established Church.

The result of the meeting of the committee, which has been above adverted to, was, on the whole, extremely satisfactory. The Bishop's proposition for translating the Society's tracts was very cordially received. "Almost every member present," he says, "declared that he would transfer his subscription from the present tract society to the tract fund of the district committee. Thereupon I presented to the fund the 300*l.* placed at my disposal by his Majesty's government, and promised (which I have done

in my letter to Dr. Gaskin,) to write to the Society for a press." CHAP. XXIII. 1821.

The mention of all these particulars, it is presumed, can by no means be censured as useless. They illustrate powerfully the necessity of constant episcopal direction in ecclesiastical affairs. In the moral, as well as in the physical world, the communication of perpetual motion is beyond all human effort. Without frequent renewals of the original impulse the noblest designs are apt gradually to sink into feebleness and languor, till, at last, they are in danger of irretrievable failure: a consideration which pleads most urgently for an increase of the efficacy and of the resources of episcopal government throughout the whole of our Asiatic dependencies. Such, indeed, appears to have been the feeling of his Majesty's government, whose wish, the Bishop observes, it evidently was, that he should pass some small portion of every year in Ceylon; it was, accordingly, his intention to go thither as often as possible. "But then," he adds, "the distance is considerable, (1200 miles,) and I have not annually a ship at my command. It is, in fact, only by the courtesy of the East India Company that I can visit it at all. The college, too, will occupy a good deal of time. But while my health lasts, I am content to give up every hour to objects of this kind."

The most interesting occurrence at this visita-

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tion, was the ordination of Mr. Armour. This extraordinary man came out to Ceylon originally as a private soldier; but subsequently he took upon himself almost the work of an evangelist among the natives, who maintained a mere nominal profession of Christianity, always conducting his ministrations in strict conformity with the services and doctrines of the Established Church. For this purpose he had completely mastered the difficulties of the Cingalese language, in which he was able to address the natives with fluency and precision. He had also attained the familiar use of Dutch and Portuguese. To these acquirements he added a tolerable acquaintance with Latin, and some knowledge of Greek. The Baptists, and other dissenters, had frequently and urgently invited him to join their communion. He had always firmly declined their proposals. His heart's desire was that, at some time, he might be thought worthy to be received as an ordained missionary in our Church. He laid his journal before Bishop Middleton, confessing, at the same time, with deep humility, that his ministerial labours had been hitherto without sanction or commission. He trusted, however, that this irregularity would not be very heavily imputed to him as presumptuous: since his ministry had been exercised among thousands who must otherwise have been left wholly destitute of all religious instruc-

tion or pastoral care. The Bishop listened to his story with the profoundest interest, and even compared his labours, sufferings, and privations with those of Paul; for, assuredly, like the Great Apostle, he was *in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in weariness and painfulness, in deaths often, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often,*—besides that which daily pressed upon his heart, the care of thousands, who were to be sought in rugged forests and pestilential jungles. After a close examination into his religious views, and his personal character, the Bishop was fully satisfied. It was evident that he was a sound churchman, and a most exemplary and pious man. His whole soul was devoted to the service of God, and his truly Christian demeanour had won for him the cordial esteem of all ranks of men. The Bishop therefore felt that there could be no reasonable objection to compliance with his earnest wishes, and, without further hesitation, ordained him deacon.

It has been mentioned above that the governor had prepared a splendid entertainment for the Bishop, on the day previous to his lordship's intended departure. The spot fixed upon for this festivity was about eight or ten miles from Colombo, and would have given him an opportunity of viewing a road which had recently been

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completed, with a bridge over one of the streams of Ceylon. The mode of entertainment by which Sir Edward Barnes had intended to testify his respect for the Bishop, is in some respects so peculiar, that the reader will probably be interested by a description of it, which, together with some other interesting particulars, has been supplied by the kindness of Mr. Hawtayne, who attended his lordship during the whole of this visitation.

"An edifice, in the style of a large Gothic cathedral, in compliment to the Bishop, had been erected, after the Cingalese fashion of embellishing their own houses, and now in general use at the King's House, and among all the English community, on public entertainments. It is difficult to describe the construction of these fairy fabrics, light, and elegant, and beautiful in the extreme. That prepared for this occasion was formed on a strong wooden frame, fashioned into Gothic arches and ceiling, of the height and extent of an English cathedral. The immense poles, which formed its chief support, were richly ornamented with the leaves of the cocoa-nut palm, (which, in Ceylon, surpasses all Indian vegetation in verdure) split in a mode quite peculiar to the country; so cut open as to exhibit a much paler green and white. The ceiling is of white calico, decorated with borders and draperies of a variety of flowers and fruits,

made in the form of garlands. The groins in the Gothic arches, on this occasion, were composed of such garlands of equal size. In short, from the description of a pattern, drawn for the purpose, it was considered, by the natives themselves, as the most magnificent ever erected in Ceylon, surpassing them all in extent and splendour. Every preparation was completed for the next day's entertainment, and all the conveyances of the governor and his numerous party were to be ready early in the morning. The Bishop was dining at the King's House, when a sudden change of weather occurred in the evening, followed by a very stormy night. Sir E. Barnes's apprehensions were more than realised; those splendid structures were wholly demolished, while the swelling of the river had damaged the bridge, and broken up a part of the new made road. This was a cause of general and severe disappointment; and the only reparation Sir Edward could make to the Bishop (whose journey to Point de Galle, 75 miles, was delayed for two or three days more), was to prepare a splendid breakfast at Mount Lavinia, his country-seat, six miles from the fort. In the mean time the road, for the whole distance, was put in complete order, and dressed up, according to custom, for the journey of the governor, members of council, judges, and then for the Lord Bishop. At the entrance of each district

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the chief modelier, the highest rank of nobility, —attended by the mohundurams, the second rank,—were bound by ancient usage to await the arrival of the traveller, to receive him with all due respect, and to provide any refreshment which might be required. According to this rule, on entering each district, the Bishop passed under an arch across the road, erected in the style already described. So also in crossing each of the clear streams, several of which occur in the course of that long journey, he was received on each bank in one of those small fancy summer-houses; while another was placed in every boat to shade his party from the sun. Archdeacon Twisleton accompanied the Bishop to the residence of Mr. Gisborne, of the civil service, married to his daughter, where every preparation was made for his lordship for dinner, and accommodation for the night."

"In this first day's journey his lordship had visited a small church lately built, and served by a Cingalese minister, who presents a very singular case; this person, being the son of one in the highest rank of their ancient nobility, bearing the title of 'Modelier of the King's Gate.' He was sent by his father, (who still retains his original condition as a Buddhist) with a cousin, to England for their education. The minister of this church was placed at Exeter College, under the charge of the Rev.

Mr. Dolby, and, having been satisfactorily prepared, was ordained for the colonies by Dr. Howley, then bishop of London. Having married a respectable English gentlewoman, he returned to Colombo, where of necessity he lived entirely separated from his own family. After having enjoyed for so long a period free intercourse with the best society in England, he was cruelly disappointed at finding himself excluded from it on his return to his native country. Bishop Middleton exerted all his influence in his favour, and invited him to his own table. The Bishop was much delighted with his visit to Ceylon, feeling greatly interested in the prospect presented to him by the numerous body of native Christians, and especially those under Mr. Armour's superintendence. He expressed a wish, if possible, to reside there one year in three; and had almost decided on purchasing a residence there for that purpose."

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"His Majesty's government had ordered a sum of 300*l.* to be paid to the Bishop on his triennial visitations to Ceylon for Christian purposes. This arrangement becoming known to a large community of descendants from the Dutch, many of whom were of the most respectable rank, but now in a state of extreme poverty and want, and who, supposing that the sum might be intended for charitable relief, came in hundreds to his residence one morning, presenting a painful scene

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of misery: they could scarcely be made sensible of their mistake, and were waiting at the door till the night came on. I had a small, well-furnished cottage," says Mr. Hawtayne, "close to the Bishop's residence, lent to me by Mr. Boyd, a member of council. I was very unwell at the time, and just as I had sate down to my little dinner at three o'clock, two elderly gentlewomen, decently but poorly clothed, and looking starved, came and courtesied to me, stating their disappointment. I rose and gave them my dinner, which they ate voraciously; they came and knelt down before me, weeping bitterly and blessing me, and took a most respectful and affecting leave."

"On the second night of the Bishop's journey they were obliged to take up their residence at one of the government rest-houses, where the modelier and mohanduram, with their establishment, were waiting for his lordship. The heat and inconvenience of this place were almost insufferable."

"They proceeded very early the next morning to the last rest-house, twelve miles from Point de Galle, where Mr. Blitterman, the collector of the district, was waiting for the Bishop, having sent some accommodation for his breakfast, with a change of palanquins. The King's House at the town was prepared for the reception of the party, and they were entertained most hospitably

at dinner by Mr. Blitterman at his own house. The Bishop the next day visited a large establishment of boys and girls formed by Mrs. Gibson, the lady of an English agent here. This charitable asylum was founded upon the purest motives of humanity, and superintended with the most unremitting assiduity. During a severe famine, some years since, many of the wretched natives perished by the road side, and left their orphans in a state of misery and want, which warmly interested the feeling and benevolence of this excellent lady. She rescued several from starvation, and continued to feed and clothe them. She formed two separate schools, which she managed herself with unceasing activity. The boys were taught trades, and some were already tolerable carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers. The girls learnt lace-making and needle-work. English, Cingalese, religious and moral lessons, were daily taught, and on Sundays the children attended Divine service in the Fort. The government judiciously extended their liberality, by a donation of 100 rix dollars per month, to this institution. And the Bishop was so much pleased with this infant Christian establishment, that he presented a handsome donation, and Mrs. Middleton gave an order for some needle-work to be sent to Calcutta."

A portion of a letter written by the Bishop to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

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is given here, to evince that, in the midst of other cares, both his own attention, and that of the admirable secretary to the Madras committee, were constantly alive to the cause of the southern missions.

At sea, Bay of Bengal,
June 5, 1821.

I have for some time past had some papers before me from Madras, respecting the affairs of the Cuddalore mission. . . . . It was unfortunate that at the time of Mr. Holzberg's dismissal, no other missionary was sent out to fill his place. Though dismissed, he appears to have continued to act, as heretofore, in the Society's concerns; and the property is in a sadly dilapidated state. *Mr. Clarke, whose zeal for the interests of the Society never sleeps, and whose good sense always discerns what is best to be done,* has moved the Madras committee to institute an inquiry into the state of the Cuddalore mission, and the other missionaries have been written to on the subject. At all events I should recommend that Cuddalore should be considered as a vacant station, so far, at least, as that the Society should look out for a successor to Mr. Holzberg, who should retire upon a pension. He complains that he was dismissed upon the single testimony of a person of abandoned character. At any rate he can never be efficient. T. F. CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Bishop returns to Calcutta—Arrival of professors Mill and Alt—Publication of the "Appeal" by Rammohun Roy —Bishop Middleton's letters to a learned Hindoo—Fluctuating character of European society in India—Various modes in which Christianity is exhibited in India—Death of Mr. Jones, the architect of Bishop's College—Proposed Collegiate Institution of the Baptists at Serampore—Progress of the buildings at Bishop's College.

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On his return to Calcutta, the Bishop had the satisfaction of finding there Mr. Mill and Mr. Alt, who had arrived from England in the February preceding; the one (as we have seen) to fill the office of principal, the other that of a professor at Bishop's College. To these appointments the Bishop had long looked forward with a very natural anxiety, more especially the latter; since the future prosperity and honour of the institution might, in a considerable measure, depend upon the character of its first president. In Mr. Mill he had the satisfaction to find (as he had anticipated) a person admirably fitted to do justice to his own exalted views respecting the duties and capacities of the establishment. He describes that gentleman as a man of *noble attainments*, such as he had never before met

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with in India. Every thing he saw of the new principal impressed him with a high opinion of his powers. And it may here be added, that all their subsequent intercourse gave his lordship the amplest cause for rejoicing that the Society had provided him with so able, accomplished, and zealous a co-operator. In a subsequent letter (October 29, 1821), the Bishop writes thus of Mr. Mill:—"His attainments are, indeed, pre-eminent. It would be an honour to any learned establishment to have such a man at the head of it. I sometimes converse with him two or three hours together upon books, and their subjects; and knowing pretty well, as I do, the measure of men's minds here, I will take upon me to say that his knowledge, both in *area* and in *depth*, has nothing equal to it in India."

In other respects, the scene to which the Bishop returned from his travels did not promise similar satisfaction or encouragement. In the first place, it was impossible for him to observe, without pain, that fresh dangers seemed to be arraying themselves against the cause of genuine Christianity in India, and from a quarter that, of all others, might have been the least suspected. It has already been stated, that a Brahmin, by the name of Rammohun Roy, had recently renounced the grosser absurdities of his national creed, though without becoming even half a convert to Christianity; and his first con-

siderable exploit, in his new character, was to publish an "Appeal" to the Christian world, to extinguish what he was pleased to term the *polytheism* of the Trinity! "And, certainly," says the Bishop [1], "he makes out his case quite as well as Lant Carpenter or Belsham. It was but the other day that Christians were considered as bound to be cautious how they attacked the follies of the Hindoos; nay, indeed, the feeling still prevails, and now a Hindoo comes forward to reform Christianity, and to attack the follies and prejudices of the whole Catholic Church of Christ, whom he denominates *a sect*." That the light which had dawned upon himself might not be hidden from his countrymen, Rammohun, it seems, was busy in translating his work into the native languages, for the instruction of his countrymen. And, what was the most curious particular of the whole history, it was understood that he had derived material assistance in its composition from a Christian, who had been formerly of the Baptist persuasion, but who, in attempting the conversion of the Brahmin to the doctrine of the Trinity, became himself a convert to the deism of his catechumen, and actually set up an Unitarian chapel in Calcutta! "It is unquestionably my duty," says the Bishop, "to take up the question,

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[1] In a letter to Mr. Norris, dated Sept. 3, 1821.

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provided I can find time for it. But a slight answer would be worse than nothing. It requires a volume. The writing, however, of a volume is not the whole difficulty: the printing is as difficult; for the expense here is ruinous, three times what it is in England. And, besides, there is no sale. I question whether, according to the prevailing notions here, the Bishop could print for sale. If it were not treated as trading, it would be thought mean. He ought to give away all the copies; to which there is this objection—that, thus, they who will not read a book, possess it, while they who want it, go without." It will easily be conceived that a circumstance like this must have been deeply distressing to a person like Bishop Middleton, whose whole faculties were wrapped up in the one grand purpose of his mission, and whose spirits were kept in a state of perpetual excitement by the multitude of harassing anomalies with which his peculiar situation surrounded him. To us, who survey the scene with something approaching to the composure of spectators, it will present little more than a result that might reasonably be expected from the operation of revealed truth upon ill-disciplined understandings. Of the numbers who were invited to examine the Scriptures, it might have been anticipated that there would be some who would corrupt the simplicity of the Gospel—who would

suffer *philosophy and vain deceit to make a sport of them;* and who, *professing themselves to be wise, would become fools.* And yet it may readily be imagined, that a perversion of this description might seriously aggravate the burdens of a mind, brought into close contemplation of the evil, while bowed down with the pressure of other manifold discouragements. It is, however, satisfactory to be assured that he did not waste his spirits and faculties in the expression of fruitless regret. He vigorously addressed himself to the evil before him in the manner which, as he states above, he conceived to be incumbent on him. He occupied himself in preparing a formal answer to the Deistical Brahmin, under the title of Letters to a Learned Hindoo. His materials for this intended publication, were in a state of considerable forwardness at the time of his death; but, unhappily, they shared the same fate to which the interpretation of his last will consigned his other papers,—with the exception of a portion of the second letter, which remained at the Bishop's death in the hands of Mr. Hawtayne, to whom the whole had been given for transcription. The fragment in question is rather too long for insertion into the text of this narrative, and is therefore reserved for the Appendix. It relates principally to the possibility, and antecedent probability, of Revelation; a topic, the discussion of which was rendered indispensable by an

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assertion of the Hindoo disputant, that he was acquainted with several Europeans and Asiatics, who doubted whether a Revelation were *possible*. With regard to this most absurd and extravagant imagination, the Bishop shews that it far outruns the scepticism even of Chubb, or Morgan, or Bolingbroke himself; and that besides, it profanely and madly calls in question the omnipotence of God, and makes his Supreme Majesty to bow down before the phantom of an eternal and independent fitness of things. And then, as to the necessity or expediency of a revelation, he denies the justice of any inference against it, which might be drawn from the respectable lives of persons who profess to reject all revelation. "Christianity," he observes irresistibly, "has shed its light upon human life, upon the opinions, the habits, the views, and the judgments of men, and it is blended with them, whether they cordially receive it or not; and no other solution can be given of the fact, that the relations of life, its duties, and its charities, hold a degree of importance, even among unbelievers, which was utterly unknown among the wisest and the best men who lived before the era of the Gospel. Still there is a proud disdain of being thought under any obligation to it. It is much the same kind of perverseness as that, which should induce a man to pass all the days of his life in a dark chamber, and to pursue his occupation by moon-

light, for the satisfaction of saying that he owed nothing to the sun;—and this, after all, would not be true!" CHAP. XXIV. 1821.

Whilst such various responsibilities engaged the ardent mind of Bishop Middleton, he would at times, be painfully sensible of one peculiarity in Indian Society, which must force itself on the attention of all who have resided there for any length of time, and that is the transitory and fluctuating character of its European population. This circumstance is occasionally mentioned by the Bishop in his correspondence; and it is somewhat mournfully alluded to in the letter from which our last extracts have been taken. He had stated that the Marquis of Hastings was expected to return to England, and that all the world in Calcutta were employed in conjecturing, who would, probably, be his successor. With that successor, says the Bishop, "I shall have to begin *de novo*, whoever he may be; and in half a year more I shall have seen out all the persons in high station here. They will all have returned to England, while I am left behind. This is rather a gloomy part of my case; and, in fact, in almost every company, I cannot help observing how few persons are present, who were here on my arrival!"

The evils arising from the various modes in which Christianity is presented to the natives of India, are feelingly alluded to in his very next

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communication to Mr. Norris, dated Calcutta, October 29, 1821.

"I believe I told you about Rammohun Roy in my last. The Bengalese are now publishing a Monthly Magazine of about twenty pages in each number, attacking Christianity, especially the Trinity. They insist on our explaining it to them, or else confessing, that our religion is quite as absurd as we make their own to be. Never was there such a revolution in the state of things: good will, however, come of it *in the end*, though *the end*, probably, *will not be yet*. It is somewhat to raise these people from their torpor, and to set them thinking,—they may in time think better. I believe I mentioned that, in Calcutta, we have an Unitarian chapel opened, which has arisen entirely out of the opinions of Rammohun Roy. I hear also that Dr. Bryce is coming out, with a Presbyterian schoolmaster, to revive the Scotch Church; and all the principal gentry of Calcutta, including the Governor-general, the counsellors, the judges, &c. &c., aided by the government, in the name of the Company, have been subscribing for a very handsome Popish chapel at Dum-Dum (the artillery station, seven miles distant), for the use of the soldiers,—so that religion may be said to flourish here! I suppose there is no capital in the world in which it exists under so many forms. Besides the Church of England, we have Presbyterians, In-

dependents, Baptists, Unitarians, Papists, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, all of them with some place of worship, besides Parsees (the followers of Zoroaster, or Zurdusht), Hindoos, and Mahometans. In such a state of things it is not possible to expect that Church principles should be very well understood, or much regarded; they have, in fact, no advocates who come forward and publicly maintain them. The question here seems to be between Christianity and Paganism; and a pretty general indifference what sort of Christianity shall prevail in the contest."

In addition to other causes of solicitude, the Bishop at this time had a severe trial to endure in the loss of Mr. Jones, the gentleman with whom he had contracted for the building of the college, and who died towards the end of September, 1821, after an illness of two or three days. Any interruption to this noble work would have weighed most heavily on his spirits: but the loss of the able and zealous contractor, by whom it was begun, was felt by him almost as a personal calamity. In the first place, it threatened him with all the troubles and perplexities of a fresh contract; and, what was still worse, with the probability of great additional expense. Besides, he anticipated the greatest difficulty in finding a person at all equal to the task of completing the work in the same admirable style in which it had been commenced. "The build-

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ings," he observes to archdeacon Barnes[1] "are brought up to the level of the first floor of the second story: but more than half the masonry is done, considering the vast mass of foundation. *It seems to be admitted that finer work was never seen in this country;* and poor Jones was pleased with it himself. *He was all heart about his undertaking*, and was just beginning to see the effect produced. The grand entrance to the hall and chapel, a Gothic arch, seventeen feet high, and ten wide, is finished on the south side, and very nearly so on the northern. I saw it a few evenings since, chiefly by flashes of lightning; and, as unfinished buildings look like ruins, it reminded me of some ancient abbey gate. He has executed my idea admirably. But the chapel roof is the part in which he would have shewn himself to the best advantage; and here is my perplexity: but the plan cannot now be altered. The frames of the chapel windows are in, and the skeleton of the great eastern window, twenty-three feet high, is, I hear, completed. It is something, certainly, that Jones lived to do so much. It will still be his monument!"

His anxiety for the resumption of the work was increased by the circumstance, that a very ample collegiate establishment was at this time

[1] Dated October 5, 1821.

advancing rapidly towards its completion under the auspices of the Baptist missionaries, residing at Serampore. For this institution, the first professor was actually arrived, with 500*l.* worth of philosophical apparatus, the donation of a person in Edinburgh; and it was announced that many other valuable presents had been received, and a great many subscriptions in India. It was, further, their intention to grant degrees in the several faculties, under a charter of the King of Denmark, to whom the town and factory of Serampore belong. At this college it was proposed, that there should be 300 or 400 pupils of all descriptions; out of whom were to be selected the most piously disposed, to become Baptist preachers. These pupils were to reside in the town, while the new building, which was to cost as much as Bishop's College, consisted entirely of houses for the professors, and two rooms for examinations, parade, &c. of 90 feet by 60. Such was the ardour and munificence displayed by these missionaries and their friends; and the Bishop was always naturally and commendably anxious that the Church should never be left behind by any other Christian society in India, but should rather take a decided lead in the career of religious enterprise. The interruption occasioned by Mr. Jones's death in the progress of the building at Bishop's College, was, after some delay, happily

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removed. Dr. Middleton had the good fortune to meet with Captain Hutchinson, an officer of the Bengal engineers, and a gentleman of great architectural taste and skill, who undertook to carry on the work; not, however, under the stipulations of a new contract, from which he was prevented by military rules, but wholly on the footing of an honourable engagement. And thus was happily resumed the great project by which the Bishop's whole heart seems to have been so much engaged, and which will, assuredly, preserve him an imperishable name throughout Asiatic Christendom.

The following letter to Mr. Ward, like all the Bishop's correspondence with that gentleman, will afford relief and refreshment, in the midst of graver matters, by its agreeable exhibition of calmness and repose:—

Calcutta, November 16, 1821.

My dear Friend,

I have to thank you for your two welcome letters of the 16th of March, and 18th of May, the latter received within this week. The former of them delighted me exceedingly, as it exhibits a picture of the tranquillity of your mind, and of gratitude for the measure of good with which Providence has blessed you. I hope, notwithstanding that you speak of the inroads of age upon yourself and Mrs. Ward, that you will yet

long live to derive increasing comfort from your family. Age is beginning to make its power visible on myself and Mrs. Middleton, not however in the form of disease, but,—in myself at least,—in some little diminution of activity, I suspect; and in both of us in our appearance, and perhaps in the decline of strength; though we feel as if English air would make us, for a time at least, just what we were ten years ago.

Literary society is, as you justly suppose, a desideratum here. The man of learning here is Mr. Mill, the principal of the new college: there is nobody at all to be compared with him; he is a very eminent member of the first learned Society in the world, Trinity College, Cambridge, and is a vast acquisition to me: he will be an honour to the new institution. You must not, however, suppose, as you hint in your letter, that I am at all sanguine on that subject; the utmost that I hope for, is to see the machine set going, and then I should commit it without any further care to Providence. I am no otherwise anxious than to make the most prudent use of the means committed to me, and thus discharge my trust. I have, however, been so unfortunate as to lose my builder. He died about six weeks ago, and has not left his equal, or any thing approaching to it; and it is a matter of embarrassment how I shall proceed. The next best man has made his arrangements to return to

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England. The masonry is about half finished, or rather more, and there is but one opinion of it, that such work had not been seen in Bengal.

I have just had with me two Swiss clergymen from the Great St. Bernard, in the highest Alps. What a change of climate for them! You know, of course, of the charitable institution there; it has suffered severely in the late war, and these gentlemen are come all the way to India to collect money for its restoration. They applied to me first, "comme chef de l'eglise," and professed to want my signature even more than my money. However, I have given them only what they least wanted. It would not be right that my name should be blazoned throughout India as a promoter of Popery; for there are some who would put that charitable construction upon it.

I am now preparing for a visitation and confirmation, with many other matters on my hands, and I shall not have a leisure hour for the next six weeks.

Ever your affectionate friend,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Bishop holds his third Visitation at Calcutta, December 1821—Abstract of his charge—Extracts from his correspondence—Despatch from the Court of Directors respecting the Scotch Church—Calcutta School-book Society—Diocesan committee Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Madras committee—Free-school in Calcutta.

On the 17th of December, 1821, Bishop Middleton held his third visitation in the cathedral of Calcutta; and, on that occasion, delivered a charge to his clergy of considerable length, and more than usual interest and importance, embracing the question of missionary enterprise as connected, in India, with the duties and exertions of the clergy. It will, therefore, not be improper to present the reader with a brief outline of this most impressive composition, especially as it was the last which he was spared to address to his clergy in Calcutta, and which he did not live to repeat at the other archdeaconries.

In the commencement of this charge, he feelingly acknowledged the mercy of Providence in permitting him to meet his clergy for the third time. "It was," he said, "a subject of solemn and grateful thought, that they had been preserved

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amidst the ordinary havoc made by the climate, and even amidst the wide devastations of an epidemic disease." He then proceeded to call their attention to the peculiarities which, at the present period, marked the condition of the Christian ministry in India, never wholly unmixed with missionary interest.

A few years, he observed, had wrought a change in the sentiments of the surrounding heathen. The time was, when they hardly knew that we had any system of religious belief. They now find that we have a religion, which we not only believe to be true, but to be the *only* truth: and, strange as it may appear, the result of this discovery has been, that some among them have been found to start from their mental apathy,—to provoke, thus early, religious discussion,—and to impugn the fundamental doctrines of Christianity! "It is impossible," he observes, "to look with indifference upon this rising disposition to enquire. We ought, perhaps to be thankful for it, as a symptom that, at least, an interest is excited, and that the spirit of apathy, the most formidable impediment hitherto opposed to our religion, is beginning to pass away from this people. At all events, we should view it without dismay, for assuredly, our religion can have nothing to apprehend from the general result. Another favourable change is the willingness of the natives that their children should receive

instruction, which, if it be not Christian, can hardly be made subservient to the falsehoods of their theology. To these and other favourable circumstances, some eager and sanguine tempers, especially in England, might possibly be led to attach more importance than really belongs to them." In order to moderate the undue expectations which might be derived from this partial suppression of difficulties, and to recal his hearers to a more sober estimate of probabilities, the Bishop presented to them a masterly and luminous comparison of the impediments opposed to the progress of primitive and modern Christianity: and, in his judgment, the clear result of that comparison was, that the work of conversion at this day, and in our eastern empire, does not yield, in point of difficulty, to the task of the earlier Christian teachers. This representation, however, it could not be supposed, was offered for any purpose of discouragement. Little, in fact, had yet been attempted in any regular way; and hope and confidence might be derived from a contemplation of the hitherto untried resources of *uniformity and system* in our missionary operations. "When I last addressed you," he adds, "I endeavoured to shew that the diffusion of Christianity was not effected so much by independent efforts and unauthorised experiments, as by the gradual expansion of the Catholic Church. It may, therefore, be expected that

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nothing will so effectually contribute to the object in question, as a considerable church establishment among us, which shall make our religion conspicuous, and give weight and authority to the labours of those employed in the work of conversion. The clergy are not, indeed, to forsake their regular and very arduous duties for the missionary occupation; but they may always be ready to receive proselytes into their respective congregations, and thus give frequency to a spectacle, which even now is sometimes seen, of native converts joining our people in the services of our Church. Missionaries may, and ought, to be sent forth, acting under proper authority and subject to control, as in the primitive times; and schools, in connection with our missions, should be maintained, to prepare the soil for the reception of the good seed. But the whole missionary system should, as much as possible, derive authority and energy from its connection with the Established Church: and if her apparratus be marked by penury, or her proceedings by languor and indifference, what will the heathen conclude, but that their conversion and instruction is a matter of subordinate moment, in the estimation of our highest authorities both in Church and State?"

The Bishop then stated that, at their last meeting, he had expressed a hope that the increased interest upon the subject of religion in

England would be found propitious to the ecclesiastical establishment of British India. It was generally known to be the wish of the illustrious ruler of India, to honour our religion in the eyes of the natives, by the erection of a metropolitan church not unworthy of this splendid and daily improving capital; but circumstances had caused the indefinite postponement of this noble design. Of religious edifices, however, for common use, several had been raised, or were in progress, in this archdeaconry, and in that of Bombay. Yet he had still to lament the want of chaplains, which left considerable bodies of Christians, and those too of our own countrymen, without the sacraments, or the common offices of religion. In some respects this evil seemed to be in a course of aggravation. A large accession of territory had been acquired, naturally the occasion of new stations of Christian residents; but no provision whatever had yet been made, so far as appeared[1], for this vast increase of our religious necessities. Under these circumstances, what hope remained to the Church, but in the zeal of her members and her ministers, and in their unshaken fidelity to the sacred principles of her constitution? We hold that those only to whom the commission was given, may ad-

[1] An increase in the number of chaplains in India was soon after made by the Court of Directors.

CHAP. XXV. 1821. minister the sacraments, or authoritatively expound the word of God. In a country where indiscriminate support is given to every form of Christianity, it is our especial duty to maintain, with temperance and discretion, but with inflexible firmness, this distinction between a true and apostolic branch of the Church of Christ, and a mere voluntary association, which may appoint its own officers, and give or withdraw its submission to their rule. And if an appeal be made to charity against these principles, it should be remembered that charity deserves the name only so long as we hold it with the truth: and that when the truth becomes indifferent or doubtful to us, what is called charity is no better than the prodigality of those who give away to all that ask, what they themselves consider as of little value.

His lordship added, that these principles could not be more faithfully or more effectively supported than by a course of practice which should recommend them to all beholders. In India, he said, the sustained exertions of the clergy were, if possible, more urgently needed than even in the parent country. The energies of the Church were here embarrassed with impediments which required incessant and unwearied resistance; and they would ill appreciate the demands of their situation, if they could for a moment suppose it to be compatible with list-

lessness or indifference. He then exhibited a striking picture of the character of the Indian clergy in its perfection, and concluded thus :— CHAP. XXV. 1821.

"Let me, then, beseech you to measure yourselves by some such standard, and if any fall far short of it, that they endeavour to reach it: I am confident, that it is not taken too high, if here you would really and essentially serve the cause of Christ. But you will not mistake me so far as to suppose, that I would cast you, even in thought, upon your own sufficiency: if the grace of God be ever needed, (and human weakness is the great lesson of human life,) it is surely by ourselves. Humanly speaking, every thing is against us; we are called upon to work a change in the habits, the hearts, and the very nature of men, in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and to build up a Zion unto God in the waste places of the earth. But for these things who is sufficient, unless the Spirit of God be with him? Prayer, therefore, habitual prayer, is to you and to myself the only resource;—prayer that God will enlighten and strengthen us, and fill our hearts with the love of Christ, and zeal for his glory, and enable us to give an account of the souls committed to us, in the hope of mercy on our own."

The following passages from his correspondence will convey to the reader some conception of the anxiety with which he watched over

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the advancement of the college, as well as of his laborious and faithful discharge of the other ordinary episcopal duties, and of the devotion of his whole heart to the cause of divine truth. The letter from which the extracts are made, is addressed to Mr. Norris, and dated Calcutta, January 1, 1822.

"I cannot say that I actually begin the new year with writing to you, as I have this morning been preaching at the cathedral, and till now, for some time, I have not had the leisure of an hour or two to reply to your acceptable packet of the 2d of July (received the 17th of November), and to do what to me is always a relief and a comfort. I have had, since the first of last month, quite enough in the way of duty to occupy the whole of my thoughts. On the 2d, I preached my Advent sermon. On the 17th, I charged my clergy of this archdeaconry, at great length, at my third triennial visitation. On the 18th, I held a confirmation, and gave a long address to the persons confirmed. On the 19th, I went over to Dum-Dum (seven miles distant), and there held another confirmation, and repeated my address. *On the 20th, I gave full seven hours to the examination of the boys at the free-school.* On Christmas-day, I preached to 1055 persons, (for here it is the practice to count the congregation), and had a large sacrament. And to-day I have

been preaching again, though to a much smaller number. I believe there is some superstition here about Christmas-day; for persons shew themselves at church on that day who never come again till the return of the anniversary. I must not, however, say that I may now indulge in repose, *when my table is almost covered with letters on business,* which have stood over, and some of them upon matters of a very troublesome and embarrassing kind. And, if possible, I ought to go to Madras about six weeks hence; but till the college is set going again, I cannot stir." And then, after requesting his correspondent to execute some commissions for him, respecting the choice and transmission of books from England, he adds, " *I have indeed but little time for reading.* However, I am pretty much at home in the evening, and generally seize upon one hour and a half before I retire, unless I am much pressed with other claims. I dare say I am growing old! Indeed I feel it in a hundred ways; but in nothing more than in my taste. I have now no relish whatever for works of imagination. *I like nothing but truth—severe truth: and I really believe that if I had my time to myself, I should pass nearly the whole of it in endeavouring to understand the word and the works of God,*—the Bible, and Newton, with their dependencies. I begin to feel that what has no reference to either of these, is, in the

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way of reading, but idle pastime. I would, however, construe this reference liberally; and particularly in favour of the biography of men who have excelled in such studies. That has for me a charm which, I suppose, will remain till the last." Being thus led to mention, with commendation, the lives of Sancroft and Walton, which had recently appeared; he adds, "I am thankful to see these worthies of our illustrious church made prominent. I hope that these books will do good at home . . . . Some readers they will have, even here: and I rejoice to observe, that books of this description find their way hither, now and then, in the channel of trade. *There is, indeed, a vast alteration in this respect within the last seven years.* When I first knew this place, the auction catalogues, published almost daily, contained, indeed, a great quantity of books, but very seldom one which, if I had it not, I should wish to possess. But now, very frequently, I pick up books in the best and highest walks of literature." Shortly afterwards he reverts to the subject of his episcopal duties, and laments that no degree of effort, in the Church at least, seems to be otherwise considered than as constrained and official. "I have never (he says), been absent from my church during seven years, except when confined to my room by illness, or absent on visitations: and I preach on an average every third

Sunday throughout the year. I do not mean (God forbid) that this is more than I ought to do—I ought to do still more if I could: but I fear it passes for nothing, and is treated as a matter of course; of which the obvious evil is, that *no influence is gained, to be employed in Christian purposes.* And yet, this seemed to be the only chance for a Bishop left without power, or patronage, or an adequate income." CHAP. XXV. 1822.

In the same letter which has furnished these extracts, on adverting to affairs in England, the Bishop exclaims, "I rejoice to hear that Dr. Wordsworth has begun his career at Trinity so nobly, in the commencement of a third court!" The design here alluded to, we may readily imagine, must have been deeply interesting to one who was himself occupied, at that very time, in rearing a collegiate establishment in India. The Bishop must have felt that he, and the new Master of the royal and illustrious foundation in England, were each engaged at remote extremities of the globe, contributing to the advancement of the best interests of the human race. What then would have been his emotions had he been spared to return to his country, and to survey the results of this grand example: had he lived,—not merely to see the first college of the university which reared him, embellished by a splendid addition to its own fabric,—but to witness the impulse which that

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achievement had communicated to the whole academical community,—to view the seats of learning crowned with such expanding magnificence as may be said almost to render the present age the era of their second foundation. Such are effects which we sometimes see produced by virtuous strength of purpose, and unsparing self-devotion. We can scarcely imagine any satisfaction comparable to that of such public benefactors, when they are permitted (if we may be pardoned such an application of sacred words) to *see of the travail of their souls*, and to live surrounded by the monuments of their own public spirit. This happiness has actually been vouchsafed to him, whom the Bishop here so cordially felicitates. For the founder of Bishop's College, an *earthly* reward like this could scarcely be in store. It may require the voice of ages to bear a full and righteous testimony to the value and the blessedness of his labours!

In a history of the first introduction of Protestant episcopacy into India, it may not be irrelevant to remind the reader that, almost immediately on the Bishop's arrival, a question arose respecting the rights of the Scotch Church. This question was now set at rest by a dispatch which reached Calcutta, early in the present year, from the Court of Directors, pronouncing it to be a mistake to suppose the Kirk to be

established in the same sense in which the Episcopal Church of England is established; and declaring, accordingly, that they could by no means consent to place St. Andrew's on the same footing as the cathedral, with regard to the number of its clergy and servants, and various other particulars which had been solicited. It was further the opinion of the Court, that the Church of Scotland could not claim steeples to their places of worship as a matter of right; though, as a matter of indifference, the Court would agree to erect one for them at Bombay. It may here be remarked, as a circumstance somewhat curious, that, in certain respects, the Presbyterian religion appeared to change its type on transplantation to the East. In Europe its effect had uniformly been to reduce the worship of God to an austere simplicity, and to reject nearly all the aids and *appliances* of external splendour, as superfluous at least, if not sinfully vain and ostentatious. In India, on the contrary, it produced magnificent edifices, lofty steeples, and fine organs. St. Andrew's Church at Calcutta, for instance, is a much more stately fabric than St. John's Cathedral; and the Scotch church at Madras is, perhaps, the noblest Christian edifice in Hindostan. It was built after the model of a church in Italy, with two fine domes; and to these was added a spire, which, like that at Calcutta, towers very consi-

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derably above the steeple of every English place of worship. It seems to have been imagined that steeples were necessary as outward and visible indications, from which the public might conclude that the Presbyterian Church was legally *established* within the limits of an episcopal diocese; and that this object fully justified a deviation from the ancient and original simplicity. The experiment, however, in the time of Bishop Middleton, does not appear to have been eminently successful. The congregations of the Scotch Kirk had never been very numerous at any one of the presidencies; and at Calcutta, in 1822, St. Andrew's had, for some time, been shut up during the absence of Dr. Bryce. A congregation, consisting of some forty or fifty persons, were waiting for a chaplain from Scotland to reopen it. This chaplain, however, died before he reached Calcutta. Even among those who adhered to the Scotch communion, there were some who complained that the Presbyterianism of Calcutta was not that of their forefathers; and they signified their sense of its *degeneracy*, by declaring that they might just as well attend the service of the Church of England!

In the letter last alluded to, as in various others, are some remarks on the powerful tendency, in India, towards every thing Catholic and liberal,—the strength with which the cur-

rent set in against every thing connected with order and exclusion—and the embarrassments to which this disposition was constantly exposing the founder of Indian Protestant episcopacy. "It is to this principle, (of comprehension)," he remarks, "that the School-book Society owes its popularity. Its object is to print books of instruction in the native languages; in which, however, there must be no religion, because the Society consists of Christians, Mussulmans, and Hindoos. Of course, these would all agree on the elements of arithmetic, and, one would suppose, upon geography; but I recollect having heard of some discussion about a passage in a book proposed for publication, which either affirmed or denied—I forget which—*the Divinity* of the Ganges! I believe I gave offence in declining to become a member of this Society. I was not, indeed, invited till it was completely settled; but how could a bishop sit down with Mohammedans and Hindoos, on the *express condition* of reserve upon the subject of religion, in deference to what he knows to be a gross imposture? This Society receives from the government 500 rupees per month." CHAP. XXV. 1822.

There may, perhaps, at first sight, be some slight appearance of inconsistency between the tone of the above passage, and the occasional expressions of satisfaction, with which the Bishop adverts to all projects for the general

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advancement of knowledge among the natives, even when unconnected with religion. His conviction was, as we have already seen, that where nothing more could be done, it would be a signally useful labour to clear the soil, and to prepare it for the eventual reception of the heavenly seed; and it may be remembered, that he declared himself to be fully persuaded that "we could teach the natives nothing which would not bring them nearer to Christianity." A moment's reflection, however, will shew that these truly wise and liberal views implied nothing like a pledge to sanction, by his own avowed and official concurrence, every imaginable project for the enlargement of the native understanding. It is perfectly intelligible, for instance, that a Christian bishop should watch, with deep and unfeigned satisfaction, the progress of any design or institution whose indirect tendency might be towards the final establishment of Divine truth; and yet that he might feel himself considerably embarrassed by an invitation to join in any plan, from which the subject of religion should be expressly and permanently excluded.

It was, however, a source of great satisfaction to the Bishop, that other designs to which he could give his unreserved sanction, were in a state of prosperity and promise. "It is now," (he says, in continuation of his letter,) "the 7th of January, (1822), and I have this morning

been presiding at a Promoting Christian Knowledge committee, to settle the last year's report: all very harmonious and comfortable. We are printing the parables, miracles, and discourses of our Saviour in three different native characters, 2000 copies of each, 18,000 in the whole! The cost will be 3000 rupees, to be taken out of the school-fund. I am also printing, at the Society's cost, a translation of Sellon's Abridgement in two native characters. I am glad to find the Madras district committee has at length published a report. It was much wanted; but they are very modest. They have done a great deal of which they are not ostentatious. Their press is going on *admirably; never perhaps so well, even in the golden days of the mission.* I lately wrote to the Vepery missionaries a letter of encouragement and thanks. I hope to be able to go to Madras this spring. There is a great deal to do there; and so, indeed, there is almost every where. *I am getting on in my arrangement respecting the completion of the college; but it cannot be completed at any thing like the original contract; however, hardly any evil is equal to that of a longer delay,* and, in truth, delay would not afford a better choice of instruments than I have at present. . . . . Dr. Wallich, the Company's botanist, has promised to assist me in laying out the college walks. I question whether, with all my descriptive powers, I have conveyed to you

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an adequate idea of the beauty and splendour of the scene. . . . . The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have had several communications from me in the course of the past year; and I fear they will think I am no preacher of economy,—which in truth I am not. They cannot act in this country on a narrow scale; they have all the world for their rivals, and I am anxious to maintain their efficiency. . . . . (January 9, 1822.) I am just returned from a meeting of the free-schools, which is completely on the Madras system, and has two masters from Baldwin's Gardens. It is, perhaps, the largest establishment on the national system out of England. We entirely educate, maintain, and clothe 360 children of both sexes, and put them out as apprentices. It is a noble institution, and *in this country, one of the best bulwarks of Christianity.* It is something to be able to say, that *from the monthly meetings of the patron, (myself), and the governors, which I first suggested, I have not during six years, been absent once, except when upon my visitations.* . . . . I cut out from a Madras paper, and inclose, an account of the examination of the schools at Vepery. What a change in the state of that mission, since the days of Pæzold! I think it probable that if you had not had a district committee at Madras, your whole missionary establishment would by this time have been dissolved."

These satisfactory particulars, however, he immediately follows up by urgent application for a powerful reinforcement to the missionary strength of that station, and by fresh inculcation of his favourite position, that no operations on a dwarfish scale ever escape disregard, and even contempt, in India; a country where all the various denominations of Christianity appeared to be engaged in an emulous prosecution of their respective designs. His keen and vigilant perception of this state of things drew from him the strongest expressions of regret that, by some unaccountable inadvertence, the act of the legislature, which established episcopacy in India, made no provision whatever for a constant and regular supply of clergy, who were to be under episcopal jurisdiction; the consequences of which omission were seen in the deplorable fact, that the Calcutta part of the diocese had no more than thirteen chaplains, while its exigencies fully demanded the constant services of thirty. "At this moment," he says, "a large proportion of the Christian subjects of this government are virtually excommunicated, for they have not the use of the sacraments, or of the common offices of religion. I have long ago represented this want very strongly, and the government concurred with me. But since that time things have been growing worse. Surely the zeal must be strong, which such neglect would not

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discourage. It was, indeed, an oversight, which required the Company to maintain a bishop in their territories, without making it imperative upon them to keep up a body of clergy."

At the close of his letter the Bishop reverts to a subject which has been recently alluded to—the fluctuation of Indian society. "Never," he observes, "was there known such a migration as there will be this season. Almost every body in the higher class of our population here is going home, among others the chief-justice and his family. In another, *if I live to see it*, there will not, probably, at a dinner of forty persons, be more than two or three who were resident in Calcutta at my arrival. There is something melancholy in the thought, though here people care very little for each other. Like those who meet at a watering-place in England for a few weeks, an intercourse of civility is nearly all that can be expected. Nobody is here at home."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Deficiency of legal advice on matters of Ecclesiastical law—Difficulties in the consecration of churches—Letter from the Bishop to the Court of Directors—Doubts as to the necessity and legality of the Consistorial Court—Address of the Bishop on the formation of the court in Calcutta—Opinion of the Advocate-General at Madras—Counter opinion of the Advocate-General at Calcutta—Question as to the Bishop's power of ordaining natives of India—Letter to Mr. Thomas Courtenay.

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THE letter, from which such copious citations have been made in the preceding chapter, dwells also upon a serious cause of heavy disquietude, which was felt by the Bishop from the first moment of his landing in India to the last hour of his life, namely, the want of sound professional advice, in questions of ecclesiastical law. Having observed that the climate perpetually, though silently, co-operates with time, upon a mind like his own, *naturally anxious*, and not permitted ever to be at ease, he adds, "Fresh difficulties seem, indeed, to be perpetually planting themselves in my path; and there is not a single person in this country, to whom I could communicate them with any hope of receiving an useful

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suggestion. A legal adviser would be invaluable, but no person here professes to know any thing of ecclesiastical law; and it has happened more than once, that, when appealed to by the respective governments, it has been thought safest by lawyers to give opinions against the Bishop. Who would suppose that I could have any difficulty about consecrating churches! You may remember that I received, through you, a letter on the subject from Mr. Jenner. What I wanted was the form of a deed of donation; but as I have nothing of the kind to produce, the government, by the advice of their advocate-general, (who considers the case in India, in ecclesiastical matters, to be very different from that of England,) hope that I will be content with a declaration, on the part of government, of the purposes for which such a church was built, and of their consent to the consecration. If I do *not* consent, the churches now ready for consecration must remain unconsecrated, pending a reference to England, to which an answer would not probably be received in *less than three years.* They could not, however, remain shut up to wait the issue! It is true we have here no endowments; no fund for repairs, but as afforded by the government; no parishes; no churchwardens; and no *personæ ecclesiæ:* government is, and does, *every thing. But then I am directed by his Majesty's letters-patent to conform with the ecclesiastical laws and*

usages of the Church of England! I cannot find that, in the churches consecrated by commission from the archbishop of Canterbury, before the establishment of the bishopric, any thing more was done than that the Company petitioned his Grace to consecrate without entering into any sort of engagement. Nothing more appears on the face of the documents in my possession. Upon this subject I wrote to his Grace in 1816; but, amidst the multitude of his avocations, I have not heard the result."

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The difficulties experienced by the Bishop with reference to the consecration of churches will be further illustrated by a letter which he was called upon this year[1], to address to the government at Calcutta, in answer to certain enquiries made by the Honourable Court of Directors, relative to his proceedings, previous to the consecration of the church of St. Thomas, at Bombay. The directions of the Court were, that the government would "ascertain from the Bishop, his reasons for having required the transfer of St. Thomas's church, at Bombay, from the Company to the British inhabitants, as a preliminary to its consecration; whilst at Madras several churches appear to have been consecrated by his lordship, without any renun-

[1] May 1, 1822.

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ciation of right to them on the part of the Company having been required."

In replying to this enquiry, the Bishop premised, that he was bound in conscience to make a distinct reservation upon a point which that enquiry seemed to involve. As a bishop of the Church of England, and a suffragan of the *metropolitical* see of Canterbury, to which the Bishop of Calcutta is made subject by his Majesty's letters-patent, he was liable to answer for all strictly official acts before a recognised ecclesiastical authority, and he had no reason to believe that his brethren were ever called upon to account for such acts before any other. He was bound, therefore, to request, that whatever he might have to offer upon the subject, which had interested the Honourable Court, might be received under this reservation of right, and as expected from him only in courtesy. He then proceeded to state that, in the case in question, the deed of donation (an instrument adverted to in the form of consecration), directs, that the trustees shall be the two chaplains of the church, (who are appointed by the Honourable Court, nominated to their particular duties by the Governor-in-council, and licensed by the Bishop), and four other gentlemen; and that, as vacancies happen, (except in the case of the chaplains), the remaining trustees shall elect

others, who, however, shall not act, until they have been approved by the Governor-in-council and the Bishop. It is true that the *first* lay trustees were declared, in the deed, to be named and to act, in behalf of the Protestant community and inhabitants of Bombay, professing the religion of the Established Church. In *that* deed, however, the government declares "that the church of Bombay was built by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of Bombay and others, *including a donation from the government;*" and nothing more was reserved to the inhabitants than the privilege of attending Divine service, the exercise of which the Honourable Court must be presumed to approve. Upon the whole it might, perhaps, be more just to say, that by the deed of donation the church was transferred from the inhabitants to the Company, although in strictness it could not, after consecration, belong to either.

With regard to Madras, he conceived that all the English churches within that archdeaconry were built at the expense of the Company; that if the trustees did not *expressly* hold such churches for the use of the British inhabitants professing the religion of the Established Church, they must *virtually* hold them for that purpose, or it would not appear why they hold them at all; that, with respect to the Company, the renunciation of right became equally complete

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by their sanction of any such trust whatever, or by their assent, however given, to the consecration; and that it was not reasonable that the final decree of the Bishop, pronounced in the sentence of consecration, should be exposed to any hazard in India, from which it is secured in England.

With respect to the instances of consecration adverted to by the Honourable Court, either there was, in those instances, no renunciation of right, actual or virtual; (in which case such consecrations would be mere nullities;) or the security against desecration, to which the Bishop is bound to attend, would be attainable under less formal sanctions in India than in England. It was certain, however, that, either there was no remaining right to the Company in the churches which they might build, or no valid consecration; the latter could not consist with the former.

In conclusion, the Bishop desired to state that it would afford him the highest satisfaction, if he could convince the Honourable Court, that in the discharge of his episcopal functions, he had no wish beyond that of adhering, as he was bound, to the laws and usages of the Church. It was his anxious desire and endeavour, that all ecclesiastical proceedings in his diocese should not only be uniform under the different local governments, but, every where, be in strict

unison with the practice which prevailed, and was never questioned, in England; a point, however, which, from obvious causes, he had not found it easy to accomplish. CHAP. XXVI. 1822.

We have, in instances like these, a striking proof of the confusion produced by sending out a functionary to sustain an arduous responsibility, with powers so imperfectly defined, as to convert matters of perpetual and ordinary recurrence into snares and pitfalls for his feet, and to render his life a scene of difficulty, exactly proportioned to his conscientious solicitude to fulfil the ministry committed to him. But these embarrassments were trifling, when compared with another source of perplexity, which spread itself over the greater portion of his residence in India, and which, at last, threatened no less than a virtual suspension of his authority. The grievance now adverted to, is mentioned by the Bishop in very forcible terms in his private correspondence; and the reader will perceive, when once he has heard a statement of the case, that no language could well be too forcible for the occasion. By the letters-patent, the Bishop is empowered to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his diocese; to visit with ecclesiastical coercion all ministers and chaplains, of churches and chapels within that diocese; to call them before him or his commissary, at such times and *places* as shall

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seem to him convenient; and to enquire, by witnesses, to be sworn in due form of law, and by all other effectual means, respecting their morals and behaviour. They further empowered him, by himself and by his commissaries, to administer oaths, according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, and to punish or correct the clergy, according to their demerits, whether by deprivation, suspension, or other ecclesiastical censure or correction, *according to the ecclesiastical laws aforesaid.* They declare that the archdeacons shall, by virtue of their office, be commissaries of the Bishop, each within his archdeaconry; and that, in all grave matters of correction, which, by the ecclesiastical law of England, are accustomed to be judicially examined, they shall, in like manner, be judicially examined before the Bishop or his commissary, and proceeded in to final sentence, in due form of law.

The letters-patent further ordain, that, if any person, against whom a judgment or decree shall be pronounced, by the Bishop or his commissary, shall conceive himself aggrieved thereby, he may appeal to his Majesty's commissioners delegate, to consist of the judges of the supreme court at Calcutta, and the members of council at that presidency. And in case any chaplain shall be deprived, or suspended, or inhibited, or otherwise subjected to any ecclesiastical punishment or censure by

the Bishop, a copy of the sentence, setting forth the causes of the punishment, shall, without delay, be transmitted to the Governor-in-council of the presidency to which such chaplain may belong.

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Now the first and obvious question arising out of this language, was, by what *mode* of proceeding this power and jurisdiction were to be exercised? And, in order to ascertain this in the most regular manner, the case was laid before the advocate-general, Mr. R. Spankie, who pronounced, in the most decided manner, that the only way in which the Bishop could proceed against any one of his clergy, conformably to the tenor of his letters-patent, was in his own consistorial court. Such a court was accordingly established by the Bishop at Calcutta, on the 15th of October, 1819. It was convened pursuant to a public and previous notification under the episcopal seal, dated the 8th of the preceding September. Certain regular court days were appointed, viz. January 2, April 15, June 10, and October 15. As there was no sufficient accommodation for holding the court within the walls of the cathedral, the house contiguous to it was used for that purpose, being at that time the public office of the registrar of the archdeaconry. The only two sworn and appointed officers under the episcopal seal, were the commissary and the registrar. The Bishop, however, gave his permission to four gentlemen

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to appear and act as proctors for any parties before the court, on taking the usual oath. The Company's standing counsel at Calcutta, was directed by government to act, at its commencement, as assessor, or legal adviser to the Bishop.

On the first opening of this court, the Bishop pronounced an address, explanatory of the nature and objects of such a tribunal in the diocese of India. The bishops of the Church of England, he said, held their jurisdiction upon principles recognised by a Protestant legislature. At his consecration every bishop is required to promise *that he will correct and punish such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous, according to such authority as he hath by God's word, and as to him shall be committed by the ordinance of the realm.* The spiritual authority has, *in itself,* nothing coercive. It has no temporal or legal effect. It cannot proceed in form of law, but with the consent and sanction of the government. And in this sense, ecclesiastical courts are the King's courts, although not so designated. His lordship then proceeded to explain, that the court then established derived its authority from the royal letters-patent, which authorised the Bishop of Calcutta to exercise jurisdiction, according to the ecclesiastical laws of the realm of England. But, he added, the causes here proceeded in will be causes of correction; since the extensive powers of the supreme judicature would relieve it alto-

gether from the pressure of other duties. The more prominent occasions for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction would probably be:—1st. Compelling regularity in the keeping of registers. 2nd. The enforcement among the clergy of a strict conformity with the liturgy and rubric of the Church. 3rd. The correction of personal improprieties, which might be incurred by the clergy, whether of a lighter, or a more aggravated description; the latter of which he was unwilling to anticipate. In all such cases the mode of proceeding would be either by *inquisition*, where the Bishop proceeds by mere virtue of his office, when public and prevailing rumour brings disorderly practices to his notice; or by *accusation*, as when a complainant comes forward, not as a witness, but as a prosecutor, or promovent of the office of the spiritual judge. A third mode of proceeding, known in England, namely, that by *presentment*, could have no application in a diocese, where churchwardens or parochial officers are unknown.

"Commencing then," said the Bishop, "under such auspices, and acting under such views, this court presumes to implore on its endeavours the blessing of Almighty God, and trusts that, as its proceedings are directed solely to His honour, and the good of His church, it will be found, in due time, to have been eminently subsidiary to true religion and virtue."

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A consistorial court having been thus established in Calcutta, it, of course, became necessary to institute similar courts in the other presidencies. When, however, measures were taken for erecting such a tribunal at Madras, the government immediately consulted their advocate-general, Sir Samuel Toller, on the legality of it; and, to the inexpressible surprise and embarrassment of the Bishop, that gentleman, on a perusal of the letters-patent, declared it to be his clear opinion that the Bishop, so far from being compelled to establish a consistorial court, was left without the power to establish any such court by the instrument from which his authority was derived!

It would be needless to trouble the reader with a recital of the documents, or a full detail of the reasonings, on which this decision was founded. It may be sufficient to state that Sir Samuel Toller, having determined in what way the episcopal authority was *not* to be exercised, proceeded to point out the manner in which he conceived it might be legally and effectually brought into action. His opinion on this point was,—that the Bishop was invested by the letters-patent, not so much with the character of a judge, as with that of a sort of paternal and spiritual *arbitrator;* and that, like any other arbitrator, he might publish his *award* or sentence, which thenceforth would become binding

on the parties concerned. And he saw no reason why the Bishop or his commissary might not proceed as effectually in this domestic forum or chamber, as in a tribunal encumbered with the expensive and tardy mechanism of an ecclesiastical judicature. CHAP. XXVI. 1822.

This opinion was, of course, immediately submitted to the advocate-general of Calcutta, who, nevertheless, maintained his original persuasion with triumphant confidence; but recommended that, in this diversity of views, the question should be dispatched to England for final determination. The effect of this conflict of legal authorities was, beyond measure, vexatious and distressing to the Bishop. If it did not actually place his jurisdiction in abeyance, it at least tended to deprive him of all confidence in the exercise of it; and was likely to impair, in a most injurious degree, the public respect for the episcopal power and function. The alternative to which the Bishop felt himself reduced, was stated by him to be neither more nor less than this:—He must either await the decision of the competent authorities in England as to the legal mode of censuring his clergy, which would amount to a suspension of his authority over them for a considerable period; or, if he determined to abide by the opinion of the advocate-general at Calcutta, he must be embroiled with the govern-

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ment of Madras, and of course be rendered odious to their masters at home.

In the mean time a case occurred which further manifested the tendency, on the part of the civil powers at Madras, to the exercise of an authority concurrent with that of the Bishop, and virtually adverse to it. A complaint had been made against a chaplain for descending from his pulpit, and turning an officer out of the room in which Divine service was celebrated (there being no church at the station) for some impropriety of demeanour. The Madras government took the affair into their own hands, as if it had not been one of ecclesiastical cognizance; and—though the chaplain held the Bishop's license to a particular station,—by their own authority, sent him off to another. An occasional instance of such despotic and summary proceeding might, perhaps, be reasonably expected in a state of society more accustomed to military than to ecclesiastical principles of government, even in spiritual matters. It was, however, a manifest invasion of the episcopal jurisdiction, and, as such, was deeply and painfully felt by the Bishop, who conceived himself responsible for the integrity of the office committed to him, and was anxious, at least, to preserve it from contempt. We, therefore, may warmly enter into his feelings, when he describes the effect of

such irregularities upon his spirits: "I think," he says to his correspondent, "you will agree with me, that accidents of this kind may have some effect in a climate where all irritation and distress of mind are known to be very prejudicial to life and health. And then," he adds, "there is but little in the way of counteraction or alleviation. Of society I find very little indeed; and of kindred feeling, less. We have here no means of changing the scene as you have in England, or of visiting friends; and one day differs from another in little besides the degree of heat!"

That the public may be in distinct possession of all the anomalies of Bishop Middleton's situation, part of a letter, dated January 14, 1822, to the Rev. H. H. Norris, is here inserted relative to a very solemn department of his duties, with respect to which he was left in a state of almost unprecedented disadvantage.

. . . . . "You may remember that a difficulty was started long ago, about my power of ordaining persons born in this country. It turned upon the question, whether they are the '*King's loving subjects*,' in the sense of the letters-patent? I am expecting to hear something upon the subject. Mr. Courtenay kindly promised to get something done for me in the removal of the difficulty; and I wrote to him in November, 1820, stating what I wanted; and,

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at the same time, to the Bishop of London, enclosing a copy of the provisions required. Without something of the kind proposed, it had been better never to have sent a bishop to India. They, who would enter into the service of the Church, cannot,—though they may enter into the service of the sectaries. This is just as it was; but in other respects the case is far worse. The Church is now made to appear to *reject* the well-disposed: for a bishop, who *cannot* ordain at his discretion, is something new and quite inexplicable. In Ceylon the case is worst of all: for there, still, according to the old system, preachers are appointed by the government, who, though unordained, administer the sacraments. I do not speak of the government as *preferring* this mode of providing for the native Christianity of this island—quite otherwise. They have hitherto had no alternative; but this ought not to be the case in the present state of things: nor would it, for a moment, if the difficulties thrown on my powers were removed. The government there would, I have no doubt, upon my ordaining persons to fill such cures, refuse to support any other. The poor men, too, wished most earnestly to be ordained. I did ordain one of them deacon; but he was an Englishman [1]. The question turns upon the

[1] Mr. Armour.

others being *born in India:* though in Ceylon, a King's colony, I should suppose that the inhabitants, of whatever description, are the *King's loving subjects!* The powers, however, given me in the Ceylon patent are limited to those given me in the patent for India. The intent therefore of the latter must be explained and settled; and, till that is done, my condition is very distressing. My task under any circumstances cannot be a very easy one; but, *as it is, I am labouring in chains, and wasting my strength and life for comparatively nothing* . . . . . .

"The supreme court, which has three judges, dividing among them 24,000*l.* per annum, is now left with only one. The second puisne judge is gone to Bombay[1] to supply, temporarily, the place of the recorder, who died very lately, being the second who has died there within three years. Such is life in India. And yet my friends, forgetting that I am not in Devonshire, sometimes gravely hope that I shall have my health eight years longer!"

The precise nature of the difficulties felt by the Bishop relative to the ordination of persons born in India is most fully and perspicuously stated by him in the letter to Mr. T. P. Courtenay, to which he alludes above, and which is here inserted for the information of the reader.

[1] Sir E. East, the justice, had recently sailed for England.

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Calcutta, November 16, 1820.

My dear Sir,

Some doubts having arisen upon points connected with the exercise, by the Bishop of Calcutta, of his episcopal function of ordination, and inasmuch as you have kindly intimated your readiness to consult the proper authorities, and to suggest such legislative relief as the case may require,—I beg leave to submit to you a brief statement of the difficulties in which I find myself involved, as they arise out of the local circumstances of this diocese.

It is to be premised, that the circumstances in which the diocese of Calcutta appears to differ from the dioceses of Quebec and Nova Scotia are, as they affect the present question, the following:—

1. That Christian congregations have been formed in various parts of the diocese of Calcutta, and others may be expected to be formed, who evince a preference for the established Church, but who require ministers capable of officiating in some one of the native languages, being ignorant of any other than their vernacular tongue.

2. That in the circumstances of India a sufficient supply of ministers, natives of Great Britain, and at the same time well acquainted with the language of India, cannot be expected: and

that persons well qualified to officiate as aforesaid, and in some respects better adapted to the office of instructing native Christians, are found among the natives of this country.

3. That persons of the latter class, being half-castes, or wholly of native parentage, offering themselves for ordination in the Church of England, are supposed not properly to fall within certain provisions, which yet have been made indispensable to the solemnization of that rite.

Out of these peculiarities the following difficulties respectively arise :—

1. The second clause of the 36th canon, which every candidate for ordination in the Church of England is bound to subscribe, is a declaration on the part of the candidate, that in his ministrations he will "use the form prescribed in the book of Common Prayer, and none other." A circumstance already stated, makes it obvious, that this injunction, in respect of such congregations, can be consistently interpreted only of the liturgy faithfully translated into the tongue, in which the minister shall be appointed to officiate. Any other interpretation would be repugnant to common reason, as well as to the 24th Article of our Church. But in abandoning the book of Common Prayer in the form in which alone it is known to the canon, care must be taken, that the change of language shall be the only change to which it shall be subjected. To this end, there-

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fore, it is to be desired, that the Bishop, unless better means can be devised, shall be empowered to give the stamp of authority to such Asiatic versions of the liturgy of the Church of England, and also of the Holy Scriptures, as he shall, with the advice and assistance of men learned in the languages in question, judge to be faithful and exact: and that to these versions, so examined and approved, the same credit and authority shall be attached, with respect to the diocese of Calcutta, as belong to the book of Common Prayer and the authorised version of the Bible in England. Without some such provision, it seems not possible to establish the uniformity, which not only our Church requires, but which is essential to order and decency in every religious society. Without it, every minister would be at liberty to translate for himself and to translate as he pleased; and not being bound by the letter of the canon, might contravene its spirit. And it is to be remembered, that this difficulty applies equally to the case of all, who are to be ordained to officiate to natives unacquainted with our language, whether such candidates be natives of Great Britain or of India.

2. Supposing the candidate for holy orders to be ignorant of the English language, recourse must be had, in ordaining such candidate, to a version of the ordination service approved and ratified, as before proposed. But inasmuch as

the bishop may not find it possible, consistently with his multifarious duties, to devote himself to the study of so many languages as are used in his diocese, it will be necessary to the effectual solemnization of the rite, that he shall be empowered to use the intervention and aid of an interpreter sworn to the faithful discharge of his office.

3. It is doubted, whether that portion of the candidates for holy orders, who may be half-castes or wholly of native parentage, can be required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy previously to ordination, as the Act of Parliament directs; it has even been questioned by learned civilians, whether ministers and congregations of this description are within the meaning of "his Majesty's loving subjects" mentioned in the preamble to his Majesty's patent founding the bishopric of Calcutta; although it is obvious, that, if this doubt can be substantiated, and nothing be done to remove it, the doctrines and the discipline of the Church of England are the only system of faith and Church government from which Christian converts will be excluded; all other systems being propagated without impediment. A legislative provision is, therefore, to be desired, which may be adapted to the exigency, and more especially be declaratory of what shall be required as to oaths and subscriptions. In the mean time it is *presumed*, that candidates born in

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Great Britain or Ireland, and who are therefore naturally subjects of our Lord the King, will be required to take the oaths, as in England; so likewise *probably* will all candidates, who are natives of his Majesty's island of Ceylon. But on these points I particularly request, through your intervention, the direction of his Majesty's government, or of the law officers of the crown.

A still further difficulty some time ago presented itself in respect of the defect of title in this country, as required by the 33rd canon: but since the passing of the Act of the 59th Geo. III. empowering the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishop of London, to ordain specially for the colonies, and to admit as a title, a declaration of the purpose of the candidate, and a written engagement to perform specific duties, it is *supposed* that the bishop of Calcutta needs not require as a title any thing more closely in conformity with the canon.

It is not so strictly within my province to advert to any political consequences which may accrue from the difficulties herein detailed: but it is hardly to be supposed, that the legislature, while it grants leave to missionaries of every denomination to come out to India, who are constantly ordaining ministers according to their forms and principles, would wish to cramp the efforts of the Established Church: and it is easy to foresee the political results, if they who

desire to preach the Gospel in connection with the Church, and to train their congregations in principles of attachment to our constitution in Church and State, shall be the only persons, as at present, who cannot be invested with that authority to preach, which in their consciences they believe to be indispensable [1].

In the hope that this letter may reach you in sufficient time to allow you to consider the subject of it before the session of Parliament shall be too far advanced,

I have the honour to be,
My dear Sir,
With great respect,
Your obliged and faithful servant,
T. F. CALCUTTA.

[1] The difficulties here stated by bishop Middleton were remedied, after his death, by the act of 4 Geo. IV. c. 71. § 6., which authorises the bishop of Calcutta to ordain any person whom he shall deem duly qualified for the cure of souls, or for any spiritual office, within the limits of his diocese; and enacts, that a declaration of such purpose, and a written engagement to perform it, shall be a sufficient title; such ordination to be for the cure of souls within the diocese only. The act further exempts all persons so ordained, from the obligation to make the oaths and subscriptions required of persons ordained in England, unless they shall be British subjects.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The precedence of the bishop of Calcutta with reference to the chief justices in India—Letter of bishop Middleton to the commissioners of the India Board—Letters to principal Mill—Conjecture as to the origin of the black Jews at Cochin—Letters to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Character of Christian David—Proceedings of the Calcutta diocesan committee—Donation to the college from the Church Missionary Society—Further extracts from the Bishop's private correspondence.

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THE departure of Sir E. East, the chief-justice of Bengal, about this time, furnished the Bishop with an opportunity of renewing his representations on another subject of some importance in India, to which he occasionally adverts in his correspondence; namely, the rank assigned him by the warrant of precedency, in which the Bishop was placed below the *chief-justice*, both at Bengal and Madras, and now, also, at Bombay, subsequently to the establishment of that office there. In this arrangement Bishop Middleton acquiesced, during the residence of Sir E. East; but when that judge had completed his term of service, and returned to England, he conceived it to

be incumbent upon him to submit the case to his Majesty's government, with a view to a reconsideration of the matter, and the adoption of a practice conformable to that usage in England, where the bishops have unquestionable precedency over the chief-justice of the King's Bench. It may possibly be thought by some, that this adjustment of his temporal dignity was a matter scarcely fit to occupy the serious thoughts of a Christian bishop, or at all events not worthy of urgent representations to the supreme authorities at home. The statement which was transmitted by Bishop Middleton to Mr. Bragge Bathurst, as president of the India Board, will furnish, it is apprehended, a complete and satisfactory reply to any such suggestions. It will shew that he regarded his official rank in connection with his duties and responsibilities; and that he considered it, not as an ostentatious appendage to his sacred function, but as an instrument of public influence and usefulness, in the peculiar state of Indian society.

TO THE RIGHT HON. C. B. BATHURST, M.P.
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

Calcutta, March 5, 1822.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

I beg leave respectfully to solicit your attention to a subject involving the dignity, and consequently the efficiency, of the appointment

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which, by the favour of his Majesty, I have the honour to hold in this part of the British empire. I advert to the rank which has been assigned to the bishop of Calcutta.

It may be proper to state, that about the period of my being nominated to the newly founded bishopric, it was judged expedient, in consequence of some reference on the subject of rank sent home from Madras, to make out a warrant of precedency for India. In the negotiation respecting my acceptance of the appointment, some doubt arose whether the bishop of Calcutta should have the customary style of a bishop, the chief-justice of Bengal not being *lord* chief-justice. And this doubt, it was supposed, might (although I did not understand on what grounds), affect the question of the bishop's rank. When, however, his style was determined, the late Earl of Buckinghamshire, then president of the Board of Control, readily acquiesced in the fitness of giving to the bishop the established rank; and I was assured by his lordship, that it would be recognised in the warrant of precedency then in preparation. Within a week, however, of my embarkation, a friend of mine, who had seen the draft of the warrant, informed me that the bishop was then placed below the chief-justice. I immediately solicited an interview with the Earl of Buckinghamshire, who acknowledged that such was the

fact: for that on enquiry it appeared that the charter of the Supreme Court of Judicature gave to the chief-justice of Bengal rank next below the Governor-general; a provision with which it was not in the power of the crown to interfere. In this declaration I acquiesced, not being able in the hurry of my immediate departure to enquire into the matter, even if I had doubted the fulness and accuracy of his lordship's information. On my reaching Bengal, however, the rank assigned me in the warrant of precedency, which came out in the same ship with myself, excited surprise; it was observed, that the bishop was put below the chief-justices *both of Bengal and Madras*, and I was referred to the law-charter or letters-patent of the 26th of March, 1774, from which the following is an extract, so far as relates to the rank of the chief-justice of Bengal, "And we do hereby give and grant to our said chief-justice, rank and precedence above and before all our subjects whomsoever, within the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, excepting the Governor-general for the time being, and *except all such persons as by law and usage take place in England before our chief-justice of the Court of King's Bench.*"

The construction of these words, Sir, seems not to be liable to any ambiguity: if, at the period of granting that rank to the chief-justice, it had been in his Majesty's contemplation to send out

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a bishop to India, the reservation of his rank to such future functionary could not, I respectfully submit, have been more cautiously secured; as it was well known that bishops are in the number of "such persons as by law and usage takes place in England before his Majesty's chief-justice of the Court of King's Bench." The warrant of precedency, therefore, founded on a recital that doubts had arisen with regard to rank "and precedence in India," and professing to "fix the same and prevent all disputes," was actually made to bear upon a case, in which no doubt could at that time have arisen, and no dispute was to be apprehended. The chief-justice, adverting to a rule in England, and to the reservation of it in the law-charter of Bengal, would have had nothing to urge against the bishop's precedency; and I have good reason to believe that, if the warrant had not appeared, the Marquess of Hastings would immediately have recognised the bishop according to the customary rank. His Excellency's opinion of the case, generally, is conveyed in a letter to me of yesterday's date, of which I have the honour, Sir, to enclose a copy. His lordship had, indeed, long since informed me that he had written on the subject to the late president of the Board of Control, upon an understanding that I had no wish to press my claim against Sir Edward East, who

was in possession of his appointment before the bishopric was founded.

I am not aware, Sir, that much can be added, or is required, to strengthen a claim supported by the English analogy applicable to such cases, and by a recognition of that analogy in the law-charter of Bengal, and, moreover, admitted by the Governor-general not to be opposed by any considerations of a local nature. His lordship, indeed, is pleased to advert to the expediency of confirming to the bishop of Calcutta the usual rank. But I trust, Sir, that I shall not be thought to impair my claim by respectfully stating especial circumstances, which appear to enter into the question. The bishopric of Calcutta then, when viewed in reference to the functions of the bishop, and to the extent of his jurisdiction, and to the general scale of the public establishments in this country, is in a state of depression. The bishop's jurisdiction is not confined to a particular district, but is co-extensive with the British dominions in the East, including his Majesty's colony of Ceylon; and his duties are, perhaps, as arduous, owing to the vast extent of his diocese, and to the anomalies with which he has to contend, as those of any bishop in the world; while his income, in reference to the value of money in this country, and to the demands to which he is obviously liable in such a diocese, is admitted to be inade-

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quate; while he wants the accustomed honorary distinction of an official residence; and while he is without power or prescriptive influence, and even such a measure of patronage as to make his good opinion of any value to the clergy over whom he presides.

It is, Sir, in this state of things, that I presume to solicit that the customary rank of a bishop may, from the resignation of the chief-justiceship by Sir Edward East, who has now embarked for England, be assigned to the bishop of Calcutta. Nor will I disclaim all personal feeling in preferring this request. I acknowledge that, after having already served the full term required of a chief-justice, it would be painful to me to be again put down from the place assigned to others of my order, and which I appear to have lost, merely by the imperfect information given to the late Earl of Buckinghamshire respecting a clause in the law-charter. Still, Sir, my personal feeling is not the sole motive to this application; no where, more than in India, is rank important to public efficiency, and the station which I have the honour to fill, does, in the circumstances of this country, especially need to be upholden. The head of the legal department in Bengal, with the advantage of an ample salary, and a valuable patronage, and a prevailing disposition among all classes of persons here to look up to those

who administer the law, does not, I would respectfully suggest, require, for the utmost measure of his efficiency, a higher rank than that which is assigned in England to the lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, and to which the charter expressly limits him; while, on the other hand, the state of religion in this country can ill endure that there should attach to its chief functionary, the idea of any thing resembling degradation. I may be permitted to add, that the warrant of precedency, although generally known and tacitly acquiesced in, has not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, ever been promulgated by this government.

I have to request, Sir, that you will pardon the minuteness of these details, without which you could not be enabled to take a full view of the case: being persuaded, that if my pretensions shall be found to be valid, they will not fail to obtain your decided support.

I have the honour to be,
Right Honourable Sir,
With the highest respect,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
T. F. CALCUTTA.

Every thing regarding the college having been hitherto transacted between the Bishop of Calcutta and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the concern of the principal and pro-

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fessors in its administration having been, by the nature of this arrangement, suspended till the return of the approved statutes from England,—the college buildings also being still in an imperfect state,—the Rev. Principal Mill, with the Bishop's entire concurrence, availed himself of the opportunity to traverse some of the most interesting parts of the peninsula, while the infancy of the establishment admitted of his absence; justly conceiving that a more intimate acquaintance with local manners and customs, and especially the personal inspection of the several tribes of native Christians, would serve many useful purposes in the further progress of his duties.

Two letters of the Bishop addressed to Mr. Mill while on his tour, (the earlier of them somewhat previously to the date of the above paper to Mr. Bathurst,) will prove that the weight of official care was not able to suppress his anxiety on subjects connected with sacred literature and antiquity.

TO THE REV. W. H. MILL.

Calcutta, February 21, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was much gratified by your letter from Tellichery, received about a week ago. I had previously heard of your progress as far as Cochin in a letter from Mr. Vismede, who informed me, that you had set off to visit the

Syrians. Mrs. Middleton thanks you for conveying her parcel. CHAP. XXVII. 1822.

I am glad to find that you have been upon the whole so much satisfied with your expedition. The problem respecting the black Jews, is, indeed, very difficult; but, at the same time, one of the most curious in the history of religion. I cannot believe that their ancestors were native converts; and I have always inclined to the notion that they came originally from Africa. I once thought they might be of the Falasha tribe or colony, mentioned by Bruce, as settled in Abyssinia, and who profess themselves the descendants of those who were converted in consequence of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. But you speak of the ruins of a college, called *Misroipalle:* what is this word, Malabar or Hebrew? Such miserable work is made with etymology, that it is not very creditable to have any thing to do with it: but I confess that the *name,* which was quite new to me, struck me as having a very Hebrew aspect. I could not but think (having long had an African origin of these people in my mind) of the similarity of the former part of the name to מצרים; and a little consideration put me upon פלים, which is not farther from *palli,* than might be expected in the inaccuracy with which the name may have been given you, and which commonly prevails, where the origin of

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words is lost. In that case, I suppose the college, or rather the colony who founded it for the education of their children, to have been called מצרי פלים, or something very like it: but I should lay no stress upon mere resemblance of sound, if there were nothing like history to countenance an hypothesis of certain Jews having, in a moment of great calamity, *fled* from *Egypt*. Pray turn, therefore, to the *Hebrew* of Jer. xliv. 13, 14, which relates to the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, and the destruction or dispersion of the Jews, who should be found there. It would be nothing very improbable in the then state of Egyptian navigation (in the reign of the successor of Pharaoh Necho,) if a party of the Jews, who escaped, found the means of crossing from Egypt to India. The passage from the straits of Babelmandel to the Malabar coast, at the proper season, is now commonly made in ten days; and we know that it accorded with the Jewish practice to call places in allusion to events and circumstances with which they were connected; as Beersheba, Lahoi-roi, &c. It is probable that *pālet* has been used as a termination to mark a place of *refuge* in Beth-Palet, mentioned Joshua xv. 27. Upon such an hypothesis, the ancestors of the Black Jews fled from Egypt more than five centuries and a half before the Christian era. Without, however, being attached to this or any other theory, I do think that the

name of a Jewish college or settlement (for the settlement may have given name to the college) is well worth examining; provided it be not decidedly and intelligibly Malabar, of which I cannot judge. *Palli* or *Pali* has certainly a Malabar sound; but that very circumstance, if the rest of the name cannot be reduced to the vernacular idiom, may help to explain the loss of the final *teth*.

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It was quite clear to me, when I visited Travancore, that the Syrians were no longer Nestorians, and that Nestorianism had once prevailed among them; but what I have been most perplexed about is, the exact period and cause of the transition. You seem, I think, to have found in the MSS. of the New Testament, 1 Cor. v. 8, at the end of the verse ܢܢܡܢܪܐ, instead of ܦܛܢܪܐ: I requested the late Metran to lend me his New Testament to look at a passage, the one above quoted, which I found to be wrong: he asked me what verse I was looking at, and on being told, repeated the whole, as it stands in the Peshito; and when I remarked the difference, he asked what could possibly have put me upon the discovery? He accounted for it, however, by saying that it must be a mistake of the transcriber, or else that the Romanists had taken care to have the alteration made! He could not suppose that any of his own Church had committed so wicked

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a fraud, and added with great emphasis, *patīra, patīra.*

I know of nothing very important to communicate to you in the way of literary intelligence, not having, as I believe, received any thing new from England since you went away; though I am not quite sure whether this be correct. *About* that time a work of considerable curiosity and interest was transmitted to me from London, having been procured by a friend visiting Venice, the long lost chronological work of Eusebius; of which the Chronicon, published by Scaliger, is only the *second* part, much patched up with fragments from Syncellus, &c., many of which belong to the first. The whole work has been found entire in an Armenian translation made about a century after the death of Eusebius, which has been published with a Latin version and fragments of the Greek, wherever they could be found. It seems well edited, though done by an Armenian. I did not indeed suspect that the whole nation had so much learning among them. The MS. was found in an Armenian convent at Jerusalem, and the work was printed at the Armenian convent of St. Lazarus, at Venice.

I am glad that you have been able to meet with any documents relative to the history of Christianity and Judaism in the south of India. You speak of the Bohras of *Surat;* there are,

some, I believe, at Bombay: little, however, is known of them; and they might form a subject of enquiry. Every thing connected with the history, and, especially, the religion of any people in India, may ultimately be useful in the college. I rejoice to tell you that the buildings are going on again under the direction of Captain Hutchinson, of the engineers, who promises to use all possible despatch. I have not lately heard from the Society; nor are there any letters in Calcutta which are not considerably above six months old.

Pray present my compliments to your friend Mr. Robinson, and inform him that I was much obliged to him for his communication respecting the foundation of his church, which I hope is going on well.

Mrs. Middleton desires me to present her compliments to you.

I am, my dear sir,
With much regard,
Your very faithful servant,
T. F. CALCUTTA.

TO THE REV. W. H. MILL.

Calcutta, May 6, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,

My delay in answering your letter of the 20th of March, has arisen wholly from my wish to be able to speak more definitively with respect to

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proceedings connected with the college. All that is wanting to the admission of a few pupils, and the commencement of business, is the return of the statutes, with the sanction of the Society, which I hoped the lately arrived ship, the *Balcarras*, or some other, might by this time have brought out. This, however, is not the case; still the statutes may be shortly expected, as the draft reached England in September last, though some allowance must be made for its having arrived at a season when the Society do not transact any business of importance. I would, therefore, suggest that your presence here may probably be desirable before the end of October; at least, I do not anticipate any cause of delay, which should suspend the commencement of the college proceedings beyond that period. I fear, however, that you would find it almost impossible, and certainly hazardous, to undertake such a journey overland in the rains.

I am glad that you have met with so much to interest you, in the way of Oriental literature and antiquities; such inquiries may in time, no doubt, be advantageously connected with the more obvious and humble labours of the college: and the MSS. which you propose to deposit in the college library, will be highly acceptable, and quite in their proper place. I had lately the promise of a curious collection

of MSS. relating to Thibet, as a donation to our library; and I hope the engagement will not be forgotten. As to the books ordered from England, I have desired that they may be delayed, till I can fix the time when the library may be ready to receive them.

I am glad that you agree with me, in great measure as to the refugee black Jews at Cochin. Upon the termination *pullo*, I did not mean to lay any stress, conceiving it to be Malabar, any further than as a Hebrew termination (*palit*) sounding something like it, might be confounded by the people of the country, with something more familiar to them, and which, it now turns out, would be as applicable to a synagogue as to any other place of worship. The only question is, whether *Misroi* be Malabar also; for then, unless indeed it still mean Egyptian, there would be an end of the whole conjecture. I think I have seen somewhere, that *misra*, in Sanscrit, or something very *like* it, means *mixed*; which, if the Malabar borrow the word, would favour the common interpretation, or rather opinion, of the origin of those Jews.

I have just received a few pamphlets from London, among which is one by Professor Lee against Mr. John William. I have not had time to do more than look at it very hastily. I supposed that Mr. Bellamy already, after his ignorance had been so thoroughly exposed by Mr.

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Whittaker, would never more have presumed to talk about the Hebrew SS. But it seems he has been *answering* Mr. Whittaker. I cannot imagine what he could find to say.

Pray give my compliments to your friend Mr. Robinson, and tell him that I have received his letter, and hope to be able to answer it to-morrow. Mrs. Middleton desires her compliments.

I am, my dear sir,

Your's sincerely,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

That the interests of the southern missions, and the other objects of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, continued to occupy the anxious attention of the Bishop will appear from the subjoined passages of his correspondence with their secretary, Dr. Gaskin.

Calcutta, March 22, 1822.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

. . . . . I am sorry that you still find any difficulty in procuring missionaries: I cannot account for it. I think, however, it may be advisable to look out for young men in England, to be brought up as clergymen, and ordained under the act for the colonies. This act affords the Society a facility much wanted some years since; and though the Danes and Germans are often

very laborious and able men, still your missions, I apprehend, should, under the present establishment, be really from the Church of England. There are many reasons, some of them obvious, and others more remote, which prompt me to this suggestion; though I believe I have offered it before. I rejoice, therefore, to find that Mr. Falcke has been ordained by the Bishop of London, and very glad shall I be to hear of his arrival at Madras. Palamcottah, a dependency of the Tanjore mission, has lately been occupied by the missionaries of another Society. I have caused an intimation to be given to the parties concerned, that our Society are sending out a missionary to Palamcottah (the same with Tinnevelly) who may be shortly expected; and *I hope* that all will be right; and yet the new missionaries have purchased property at Palamcottah, and made other arrangements for their permanency. I would, however, take leave to suggest, that more missionaries must be sent out by the Society; or it will be impossible, amidst the great number of missionaries now sent out to India, and the manifest preference which is given, in the choice of stations, to those at which Christian congregations are already formed, to maintain the ground so honourably gained by our Society in former times. When Mr. Falcke arrives, your missionaries in the south of India, will be still only

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six, Mr. Holzberg, having long been divested of that character. Cuddalore, therefore, a most interesting station, will still be vacant; and of the *six*, Dr. Rottler is, perhaps, almost the oldest European in India, and Mr. Kolhoff is now considerably advanced in years. Supposing either of these, or any one of the number, to make a vacancy, without having his successor at hand, very serious inconvenience must be sustained; and I could not provide the remedy. All this, however, is independent of what I have already proposed as to sending missionaries to Calcutta.

With respect to the employment of Christian David of Ceylon, who is a most worthy man, and much attached to the Society, I hardly know what to advise. He was anxious to be ordained last year, when I was at Colombo, being one of the preachers in that island, acting under the authority of the government, and it was merely a legal scruple to which I demurred. He was, however, poor man, sadly disappointed and hurt, to my great concern. He would, I have no doubt, make a good missionary; but I question the expediency of his receiving the *Lutheran* ordination for that purpose, for reasons already alleged; and without some kind of ordination, I do not see how he can be employed by the Society. If the scruple, to which I have alluded, shall be removed, I shall feel no difficulty in ordaining him to act in his present

situation at Jaffna; and there, perhaps, he would be more in his proper sphere than in acting with our missionaries from Europe. I am glad to hear that the Society have sent him a donation. I believe that no man has laboured more faithfully in the Christian cause.

Upon the question of the education of young Pohlé, I have less hesitation than upon the preceding one. It appears to me that he is precisely such a subject as was contemplated in the foundation of the college; and that if he, and others such, be sent to England for education, a primary object of the institution will be defeated.

My hope and earnest recommendation is, that the Society, who have so munificently contributed to the erection of the college, will found therein five scholarships, to be filled up always according to the statutes, in which I have suggested a reservation in favour of the sons of missionaries,—the very idea of the college is to further the missionary designs of the Church. The expense of this measure I cannot accurately calculate without actual experience in the college; but I imagine, that the application of a sum sufficient to produce 350*l.* per annum, i. e. 50*l.* for the support of each scholar, and 100*l.* for the Tamul teacher, would be all that is required, buildings being already provided, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

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paying the salaries of the professors, and generally maintaining the establishment. Or, considering the advantage of remitting *to* India, and at the same time allowing money to produce here only five per cent. (the government securities do not, at present, produce more) 6,000*l.* would *certainly* for ever endow in the college five scholarships, and a Tamul teacher. This would not, I admit, relieve the Society entirely from the necessity of selecting missionaries at home. I hardly contemplate such a change in the state of things as to make the aid of European talent and energy superfluous; but it would greatly reduce the demand. The sons of missionaries from Europe, would, if well educated in the college, be quite as good as Europeans. The college statutes, however, of which I communicated an outline for the consideration of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel nearly twelve months ago, may possibly be not altogether unknown to your Society; and they will convey very fully the objects and uses of the institution. I will only observe that your having always five students in the college, will give you a command of agents, both missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, such as in due time, and with the Divine blessing, will infuse new vigour into your missionary system, and, above all things, contribute to its permanency; and I should even suggest my conviction, that you cannot, in the altered state

of things, long go on upon the present plan. I should remark, that there are two other boys, a son of Mr. Kolhoff, and of the late Mr. Horst, both of them your missionaries, whose views are directed to the college, and respecting whom Mr. Kolhoff writes to me with very great interest. it will be a boon to your missionaries, and an encouragement to them, to know that their sons, if suitable in point of disposition and talents, will be received into such an asylum, and be enabled to carry on, with every advantage, the pious labours of their fathers.

Calcutta, April 11, 1822.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

. . . . . I have from the 1st of last month (March), granted an allowance on behalf of the Society, of fifty rupees per month, to the secretary of our diocesan committee, for the services of a moonshee to assist in the work of translation into the Hindoostanee language; it is usual to retain such persons in similar instances, and nothing in fact can be done well without their assistance.

We have this day had a general meeting of the Calcutta diocesan committee; and I rejoice to find that the books on the supplemental list just received, give great satisfaction; it was generally felt by the meeting, that the diffusion of such books must, with the Divine blessing,

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be productive of great good, and that they are especially wanted in this country. I would earnestly recommend the extension of the list; and perhaps it may deserve consideration whether the following scale is within the view of the Society, viz.:—Archdeacon Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists; Dr. Burney's Abridgement of Pearson on the Creed; Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull; Paley's Evidences; Archbishop Potter on Church Government; a selection to be made from the Spectator, consisting *chiefly* of Addison's Saturday papers; Jenkin on the Christian Religion; Lord Clarendon's Essays: and if poetry be admissible, the excellent collection, attributed to the Bishop of Killaloe, the Parent's Poetical Anthology. It is possible, however, that my views may be directed rather to the state of India than of England: and it is probable that even if all these books should be approved, their number may be, though light, too great,—I merely throw out the suggestion.

I am sorry to state, that in our stores here we have, as has happened before, scarcely a prayer-book left. It will, indeed, be gratifying to the Society to know that the demand is so great: before the establishment of their committees in the East, the book of common prayer, in any cheap edition and binding, adapted to the circumstances of the lower classes, rarely found its way into the country: the number dispersed

throughout our eastern dominions of late years has been very great, and yet the actual demand seems rather to increase. In these circumstances, I would request that 200 copies, 12mo demy, long primer, bound in calf, be sent out, in addition to any that have been ordered before the date of this letter, to be accounted for hereafter. In future we must endeavour to be more provident, by ordering a larger proportion of prayer-books, and fewer tracts."

A few more passages selected from his correspondence, now rapidly drawing to a close, will further display the various cares and apprehensions which were constantly crowding upon his mind.

Calcutta, March 21, 1822.

". . . . . We have now in India that monstrous despotism, and tremendous engine of corruption, which some call the liberty of the press. The government, in an evil hour, authorised it; and now they do not know what to do with it. Some time ago the secretary of government prosecuted an editor for a libel on them, charging them with corruptness in their office, and were foiled. And this man is at the head of a party who attack all that hitherto has been held sacred, with an effect of which you can have no idea in England, because the society here is small, and such discussions are new. . . .

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A subscription paper is going about, to raise money for a chapel in the suburb across the water, *to be served by ministers of all persuasions.* I could have prevented this, had there been a disposable chaplain here. But, instead of that, there are not four chaplains for the whole of the soldiery! The other day, an application was actually made to the government, that an officer should have authority to perform clerical duties to a large body of military!"

May 7, 1822.

To revert to the college, I have received a proposition from a learned clergyman in this country, (the same who published a sermon preached before me in Bombay, Mr. Robinson,) to be employed in a translation of the Old Testament. The Bible Society grant (of 5000*l.*) cannot be better employed than in bringing within the sphere of the college all the ability and talent that offers itself. I do not, myself, entertain any high expectations from the *mere dissemination* of the Scriptures among Mussulmans and Hindoos. I have very plainly intimated this in the second of my two charges. Still translations must be made. They may do something; and missionaries can do nothing, or very little, without them. I mean, therefore, to give all encouragement to Mr. Robinson. If well done, it will be a grand work to issue from the college

press. You will do me the justice to suppose, that with such objects in view, and with many others, if I had time to prosecute them, I should not be desirous of returning to England immediately, even if it were in my power. Still, however, the idea of *never* returning to England is one which I cannot contemplate with tranquillity. If any thing is done to shorten my period, I must do it soon. . . . . As it is now fixed, it precludes all hope of return. That hope, I believe, is venial. The feeling is interwoven with all my affections; and if I could return with some remnant of health and activity, I should not despair of being useful to the Church at home; more useful, in fact, than I can be here, beset as I am with difficulties in the performance of my *most ordinary duties.* Years have not hitherto abated my zeal; and I sometimes feel that in the cool and refreshing atmosphere of England, I could labour the whole day long. That, indeed, I do in India; but in the languor of such a climate, a day produces very little, and to perceive how little is the worst of all discouragements. . . . . CHAP. XXVII. 1822.

Pray send me, above all things, Wilson's History of Christ's Hospital. It would be unnatural in me not to have a warm interest in that institution, the source, perhaps, of greater good than any other school in England. Among the letters which I am most anxiously expecting, is one to announce that I am a governor. I

CHAP. XXVII. 1822. sent the requisite donation from Ceylon, about a year ago[1]. I bless God that I have been

[1] This was enclosed in a letter to his friend Mr. Ward, from Colombo, in which he says, "I have to request that you will take an early opportunity of waiting upon the treasurer of Christ's Hospital with the enclosed, being the amount of my donation to *the noblest institution in the world!* and an imperfect acknowledgment of what I owe to it, as the instrument of a merciful Providence. The following is the letter in in which he announced his donation to the treasurer:—

TO THE WORSHIPFUL THE TREASURER OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, LONDON.

Colombo, May 12, 1821.

SIR,

Without having the honour of being personally known to you, I take leave to address you as the treasurer of Christ's Hospital. My object is to make what I feel to be a very inadequate acknowledgment of the gratitude which I owe, and of the affection which I bear, to that royal foundation. I cannot be insensible that I am indebted, under Providence, for the station which I fill, and for any means which it may afford me of doing good, to the early protection and sound instruction which I received within the walls of that house; and my prayer will ever be, that the Almighty may raise up to it patrons and benefactors through all succeeding time. I remit, by this conveyance, to my friend, S. S. Ward, Esq. of the accountant-general's office, Chancery Lane, a bill for four hundred pounds (400*l.*) sterling, with instructions to pay the amount to your order. Invoking the Divine blessing on yourself, and on all who maintain and advance the interests of the institution,

I have the honour, sir, to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

T. F. CALCUTTA.

enabled to do somewhat towards the repayment of so vast a debt. Pray do not lose the first opportunity of sending the book; though I know nothing of it but the title, as given in the Remembrancer; but it is sure to contain something to interest an *alumnus*. . . . . Mrs. Middleton, you will be pleased to hear, is still very well; though, like myself, she grows old. She is, however, nearly all that I have to rest upon in India; *particeps omnium consiliorum, et, pro viribus, adjutrix.*"

We now approach the close of the Bishop's correspondence. On the first of June he addressed the following letter to Mr. Ward:—

Calcutta, June 1, 1822.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of the 15th of November, received most unexpectedly yesterday evening, (for no ship had been announced) relieved me from some uneasiness; so long an interval has not passed, I believe, without my hearing from you, since I came to India. The interval, however, between the *writing* of your letters (July and November), was not not so very long; but your last letter, just received, has had a very long passage. However, old as it is, it was very welcome; and one or two letters, which accompanied it, and are of much less value, were yet refreshing to my spirits, which lately have suf-

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fered sadly from the want of intelligence from friends in England. English letters are by far the greatest luxury which a thorough Englishman, like myself, can enjoy in India.

I was concerned to find, that at the latter part of August, you were unwell. Your life is, indeed, laborious; and you must exceedingly enjoy your periods of relaxation from business. *I* labour too, in a somewhat different way, seldom allowing myself a respite from employment connected with my duties till six o'clock in the evening; and though, from the extreme heat, which has for some time past been dreadful, but little comparatively is done, the fatigue sometimes amounts to exhaustion. Then, we have no Tunbridge Wells or Ramsgate, or any change or variety whatever: the only recreation is the regular evening drive, which presents precisely the same variety as the horse enjoys in his mill; the horse performing his revolution in a minute, while *our* round occupies about an hour. As to incidents and events, which serve to agitate and exercise the mind, and prevent stagnation, there is nothing here of the kind; for every thing like news we depend upon England.

I am obliged to you for executing my commission with the treasurer of Christ's Hospital, and I am glad that the governors were pleased with my letter. I assure you that I am thankful to Providence for having been enabled to attain an

object, which I have had in view for many years: it has been much on my mind, but I could not properly do it earlier. I hope sometimes to give you a turn for a freeman's son; my idea, however is, that the institution should be reserved for cases of *ingenuous distress*, and not receive children in the very lowest situations, who may just as well be sent to their parish school; there is no other asylum for the former, whilst there are a hundred for the latter.

4th June. Whilst I am writing, the *Tees* sloop of war is announced: in a few hours I shall know whether she brings my expected letters; you cannot judge of the interest which the arrival of a ship excites here among those, though they are few, whose principal concern is with England.

5th June. The only letter for this house by the *Tees* is one from yourself, in which I anxiously looked for some tidings of the packet of letters and sermons conveyed to England by Mr. Mill; but in vain. The next ship may, perhaps, end my suspense.—With our united regards to Mrs. Ward and the family,

Believe me ever your sincere friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

On the 8th of June he began his last letter to Mr. Norris, which was not closed till the 27th of the same month, about ten days before his

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death. It commences in a tone of more than usual seriousness, and even dejection.

"It is, this day, just eight years, since I embarked at Portsmouth; when poor archdeacon Thomas assisted Mrs. Middleton into the boat, and was, of course, the last of my acquaintance whom I saw in England. It was exceedingly improbable that we should ever meet again; and perhaps, all things considered, it was hardly to be expected, though he was the older man, that I should be the survivor. But so the Almighty has ordained it. I sometimes wonder at the manner in which, amid the continual havoc around me, I have been preserved, and my wife also, without whom, in solitude and destitution, I should be as nothing!"

In this last sentence he touches upon a subject of heavy disquietude. There was nothing which he appeared to contemplate with deeper consternation than the possibility of his being left to survive the faithful companion of his fortunes. This feeling was rendered more intense by a severe indisposition, under which she was then suffering, and by the recollection that he had once, since his residence in India, been actually on the point of losing her, by an attack of cholera, from the effects of which she was with great difficulty recovered; and this, at a time when that dreadful scourge was sweeping off the native population by myriads. His

terrors were further aggravated by the circumstance that he was without children, and that the loss of Mrs. Middleton would, therefore, consign him to a state of the most hopeless and appalling desertion. She had been the partaker of all his anxieties; and, without her, the world was, to his imagination, a scene of such dreariness and bereavement, that his heart sunk at the very thoughts of it. CHAP. XXVII. 1822.

At this time, too, his mind was kept almost upon the rack by his extreme anxiety to hear from England, and by the repeated disappointment of his expectations in that particular. From this source of uneasiness, indeed, he had, in the course of his residence in India, suffered almost continual disturbance. Not a vessel could enter the Ganges without bringing out something, whether in the shape of letters, or pamphlets, or money, or missionaries, to some of the religious Societies established in Calcutta; and it very frequently happened that the Bishop learned from others, the proceedings of those, with whom he was so closely connected in England, long before the slightest intimation of their movements reached him, officially, from themselves. He was frequently kept in a state of harassing suspense by this irregularity and delay in public communications. At this period, more especially, it happened that ship after ship arrived at Calcutta, without bringing him a

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single line on any one of the various and pressing matters which then absorbed his thoughts. That some of his papers relative to the college, and to other important and difficult affairs, had reached England a twelvemonth before, he had fully ascertained; and he was awaiting, with agitation and anxiety, the letters which should satisfy him that his measures had been approved. Under these circumstances, it can be no subject of wonder that, in allusion to the opening passage of the above letter, he should continue thus:—

. . . . . "There is something gloomy in this commencement: I ascribe it partly to the remembrance of the day; partly to the weather (as gloomy and comfortless as I ever knew in England in November); and partly, to the sad disappointment which I have lately sustained in not having any tidings from home. Three ships, bearing several thousands of letters for Calcutta, have brought me but two or three, of no interest, and of a very old date. *It is impossible that any man in England, in the centre of life and business and intelligence, can comprehend the sensations which such disappointments create. He must first place himself in my situation!*"

He then proceeds to give detailed and minute directions respecting painted glass, and a small organ, for the college chapel, towards which objects, he, with his usual liberality, gave the sum

of 400*l.* He also sends an order for sacramental plate, to an amount not exceeding 150*l.* which Mrs. Middleton (whom he justly describes as an affectionate daughter of the Church,) had claimed the privilege of presenting to the chapel from her own personal funds. He then proceeds to notice a munificent offer from the Church Missionary Society, who, in November, 1821, had crowned their generous benefaction by a further vote of 1000*l.* to the uses of the college for the year 1822; the committee in London, by their secretary, Mr. Pratt, adding the expression of their confident expectation, that an annual repetition of the same grant would be obtained from the liberality and resources of the Society. In communicating this vote, the Society requested permission to educate students at the college at their own cost, professing an earnest desire to place all their ordained missionaries under the Bishop's direction. They, however, intimated a wish that their missionaries should not be compelled to confine themselves wholly to the work of converting the natives; but should, also, in certain specified cases, be licensed to minister to Europeans. To this latter proposal the Bishop distinctly objected; partly, no doubt, upon the ground, that the college was designed for the education of missionaries *to the natives;* whereas the proposal of the Society might, in process of time, contribute to change its character, and

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convert it into a college for the education of ministers for congregations of Christian Europeans in India. With regard to the grant itself, the Bishop was deeply sensible of its liberality; but, nevertheless, he felt himself under the necessity of declining it for the present. Before he ventured to accept the offer, it was necessary that the college statutes (which he was anxiously expecting from England, with the sanction of the Society for Propagating the Gospel,) should first be examined by himself, as well as by the Church Missionary committee; since otherwise it would be impossible to know whether the grant could consistently be made or received [1]. He felt, at the same time, that it would not long be possible to resist the wish of the Church missionaries to be licensed for the same purposes as the chaplains, unless the presidencies were more regularly provided with ministers; and that the refusal to comply would, under such circumstances, be infallibly ascribed to a secret disregard for the spiritual welfare of the European community in India. "Is it not strange," he exclaims, "to read in the newspapers, 'On such a day was married by the brigade-major, &c. &c.' under a Church establishment, where every thing but the

[1] The statutes, which did not reach India till after the Bishop's death, met the wishes of all friends of union, by opening the college indifferently to all societies of the united Church.

establishment is kept up in the highest efficiency? There are, however, plenty of clergy in the country belonging to the Church Missionary Society, and they evidently wish to be employed (in the absence of chaplains) as regular clergy. Hitherto I have firmly opposed this; but it cannot go on long. There can be no great question between employing missionaries in the orders of our Church, or even *brigade-majors*, and suffering the people to live without religion altogether." He then intimates that, if it were once understood, that in consequence of the vast accession of territory, the Company would, in future, provide chaplains only for the principal stations, he would then move the Society for Propagating the Gospel to get a grant from the government to enable them to do for India what is now done for Nova Scotia. "But under the existing state of things,"—he adds, "You may easily imagine that my situation is embarrassing and distressing; and I have other difficulties to contend with which give me great uneasiness. I am as willing as any man to devote myself to the cause in which I am engaged: but labours, of which no fruit is apparent, *seem* not to be blessed; and the fruit must, in the end, be little, in my case, if, with powers, such as they are, more likely to decay than be strengthened, my difficulties remain the same, or rather, increase daily.". . . . . CHAP. XXVII. 1822.

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"I enclose, by the way, an account which may interest you, of the state of the weather when I began this letter. The editor's thermometer was rather higher than mine, though the heat was tremendous. It sunk in twenty-four hours to 82°, and the feeling (such is the force of habit), was that of being uncomfortably cold!"

"P.S. 24th June. Still without letters from England, or any arrival! Since the date of the beginning of this letter we have had most awful weather; one night of terrific crashes of thunder, and of lightning a continued blaze; and at the mouth of the Great Ganges, Burhampootra, 200 miles to the eastward, an inundation, occasioned by a hurricane from the south, which prevented the waters from falling into the sea, has swept away many thousands of the inhabitants, with their cattle, grain, agricultural implements, &c., in one wide desolation. In one place 1,000 souls perished. The whole loss is not yet ascertained: but it must be immense in a district which is low and perfectly level, and where the only means of escape must have been by getting into boats, or by clinging to fragments of floating trees. For most of the trees are swept away, and not a hut remains. The government immediately sent off orders for the relief of the survivors; and a subscription is going on here for the same purpose. But it is feared that many will perish with cold and hunger, before

any supplies can arrive. I observe in the papers accounts of extraordinary floods in England; but you know nothing of those wars of the elements which take place in these tropical climates . . . . . I heard lately of the illness of Captain Hutchinson, whose life is of great importance to me; but I have just heard from himself that he hopes to get out again in a few days. Mrs. Middleton has, latterly, not been very well; and, during the last few days, has been in the bustle of removing back to our usual residence, which has undergone a long repair. We are not yet settled. And yet, to-morrow, we are to give a grand dinner to forty people. While I am writing, the *Duchess of Athol* is announced from England; the date not mentioned, but probably in February. Surely she will bring me something!—and, I hope, a letter from yourself, than which nothing can be more welcome.—25th June. *The Duchess of Athol brings me not a single letter.*"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Review of the difficulties and embarrassments incident to the first English bishop in India—General effect on the constitution of Bishop Middleton—Circumstances connected with his last days—His illness and death—Particular features of his character—Testimony of bishop Heber—General principles of his administration of the Episcopal office in India—Beneficial results of the Ecclesiastical Establishment.

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THE reader, it is presumed, will, by this time, be fully in possession of the various adverse circumstances which kept the mind of Bishop Middleton in a state of almost perpetual agitation, more especially towards the latter part of his residence in India. The nervous energies of his constitution had, probably, for some time been sinking under a load of duties, to which no single mind or body could long be equal, aggravated as they were by the multiplied impediments incident to the novelty of his office in that country, and to the peculiar circumstances of the Church in which he was called to execute it. From the foregoing narrative, illustrated as it

is by his own confidential correspondence, it appears that, unfortunately, he was, to the last, without the satisfaction of perceiving the slightest abatement of his difficulties. On the contrary, every year, and almost every day, seemed to bring with it some fresh embarrassment; and, what was peculiarly distressing, these obstructions were found to occur precisely in those departments of duty, which in England are merely matters of routine; so that he was perpetually compelled to waste his force, as it were, in overcoming friction and resistance, instead of bringing it to bear at once upon the grand and vital interests of the Church. In some sort, his condition resembled that of the builders of the second temple, who had one hand upon their work, and with the other, held a weapon for their protection. He laboured, under the anxiety and terror incident to a consciousness of decaying powers, impaired resources, and a constantly accumulating task. While the exertions and the numbers of every other class of Christians were daily increasing, the energies of the Church were suffering from the insufficient and diminished strength of her establishment of chaplains; and that ground was thus left open to miscellaneous adventure, which he had been anxious to secure to the cause of episcopacy and uniformity, and to the operations of steady and concentrated enterprise. To him, at the latter

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period of his life, the interests of the establishment *seemed*, at times, instead of advancing, to be perceptibly going backward; and his apprehensions on this head were rendered, as we have seen, more painfully urgent by the pernicious activity of a licentious press. On the erroneous liberality, which had given full freedom of action in our Indian possessions, to that tremendous instrument, he had looked, from the very first, with the deepest apprehension. It was his profound conviction that the press is an engine which has strength enough to shake almost into ruins a frame of society constituted like that of India: and he soon felt that no part of the fabric would be more exposed to concussion from its violence than the recently Established Church. Oppressed by these causes of disquiet, he describes himself, in his correspondence, as resembling a man who is doomed to work in manacles and fetters—as consuming his life in endless beginnings, and as condemned to a sort of Sisyphéan toil.

This constant and painful commotion of spirits, however, was never suffered to interrupt him in the discharge of duty, or the exercise of hospitality. And doubtless, his stedfast piety induced him to rest, with habitual confidence, on the goodness and wisdom of Providence, and often look forward, with cheerfulness and hope, to the more favourable prospects of his Church. On

the Monday preceding his death, he received the clergy, as was his custom, at dinner. In the early part of that evening, he was severely agitated by some information respecting certain proceedings which had been instituted against him, in the supreme court, by one of his own clergy, on whom he had been under the necessity of inflicting censure. This depression, however, he shook off, and became unusually cheerful and animated, and exhibited, with much appearance of satisfaction, some handsome improvements which he had recently made in his residence. On Tuesday, July 2d, he, unfortunately, persisted in visiting the college, at an early hour in the afternoon, in spite of the remonstrances of his physician, who happened to be in the house, in attendance on Mrs. Middleton, and who strongly represented the danger of the proceeding. All that could be obtained from him was a promise that he never would venture thither again at that period of the day; little thinking that he was about to place his last footsteps on that favourite and delightful spot. On the same day he received a visit from Mr. Bayley, the chief secretary to government, who found him, to all appearance, in perfect health; and with whom he conversed, in a tone of great animation, respecting the various means of diffusing knowledge and truth throughout India—his own plans and intentions, if Providence should spare

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his life—his past cares and anxieties—and his future hopes and prospects.

On the Wednesday he was occupied for eight hours together in writing to government respecting the proceedings in the supreme court, above alluded to. He then declared that he was quite exhausted; and proposed to Mrs. Middleton, who had been suffering from ill-health, that she should accompany him in the carriage before the sun was gone down. They had not proceeded far, when the slant sun, which is always dangerous, and especially at the damp and sickly season of the year, shone full upon him. This slight cause, acting upon a shattered frame of nerves, was sufficient to produce fatal effects. He immediately declared that he was struck by the sun, and returned home. On retiring to rest, he said that he thought himself seriously ill, and that he knew not what would be the consequence. He, nevertheless, positively refused to call in medical advice. ' In the course of the evening his symptoms became aggravated to an alarming degree, and indicated the presence of fever of a type and character scarcely known in England, and very rare even in India. The high pulse, hot skin, and other ordinary symptoms, were present only in a very slight degree; neither were they prevalent, in any considerable extent, during his illness. But there appeared, from the very first, a most distressing anxiety, irritability,

and restlessness, which it was impossible to subdue, and which made his illness doubly painful to his family and his friends. He repeatedly insisted on getting up to write; and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he was restrained from actually doing so. All this while, he most strictly forbade Mrs. Middleton to send for a physician; till, at last, on Thursday, the fever had become so violent, that he was persuaded to call in Dr. Nicolson, on whose experience and skill he placed the greatest reliance. He was now, perhaps, fully conscious of his danger. Still, it seems, he would not allow any intimation of his alarming condition to be conveyed to his friends; and, almost to the very last, they remained in total ignorance of the extremity of his danger. In the course of the following Monday there were slight appearances of amendment. Some hopes were even entertained that the danger was passing by, and that a favourable crisis might be at hand; but these were soon dissipated by an alarming accession of fever and irritability, which came on towards the evening. He then quitted his library, and walked incessantly up and down his drawing-room, in a state of the most appalling agitation. About nine o'clock his chaplain, Mr. Hawtayne, was admitted to see him; and was inexpressibly shocked to find him on his couch, in a state, to all appearance, of violent delirium; his thoughts wander-

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ing, his articulation gone; his faculties, in short, a melancholy wreck, at the mercy of the tempest which had shattered them. In that condition he lay, breathing and struggling violently, till a short time previous to his departure. The severity of the conflict then appeared wholly to cease. A smile of unspeakable serenity and peace spread itself over his features, and, in a few minutes, he gently expired. Such was the tranquillity of the last moment, that it was not marked by a struggle, or even by a movement.

Thus departed Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, precisely at the hour of eleven, on Monday night, July 8, 1822, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the ninth of his consecration, to the inexpressible loss of the Christian Church. The persons present, at the time of his decease, were, the archdeacon of Calcutta, Dr. Loring,—the senior chaplain, the Rev. Daniel Corrie,—John Trotter, Esq. whom the Bishop had distinguished by his friendship and confidence,—his private chaplain Mr. Hawtayne,—and his physician Dr. Nicolson. Of these, all, except Dr. Nicolson, were wholly unprepared for the bereavement they were about to sustain, till a few hours before he breathed his last.

The death of Dr. Middleton was announced to the public, in an extraordinary gazette, by command of the Governor-general in council, in the following language; which was worthy of

the distinguished body from whence it issued, and of the admirable prelate whose memory it honoured.

CALLCUTTA GOVERNMENT GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Fort William, Wednesday, July 10, 1822.

With sentiments of the deepest concern, the Governor-general in council notifies to the public, the demise, on the night of Monday last, of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

His Excellency in council, adverting to the unaffected piety, the enlarged benevolence, and the acknowledged moderation of the late Bishop, conceives that he only anticipates the eager and unanimous feeling of all classes of the Christian inhabitants of this city, when he announces his desire, that every practicable degree of respect and veneration should be manifested, on this most distressing occasion, to the memory of this excellent and lamented prelate.

His Excellency in council is pleased, therefore, to request that the principal officers of government, both civil and military, will attend at the melancholy ceremony of the Bishop's interment; and that every other public demonstration of attention and respect, consistent with the occasion, be observed on the day appointed for the funeral.

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By command of his Excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council,

C. LUSHINGTON,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government.

Friday evening, (July 12, 1822) having been fixed upon for the solemnity, the day was passed in making such preparations as might be conformable to the wishes thus expressed by the government, and, at the same time, consistent with that modesty and plainness which had been enjoined by the deceased himself. The flag at Fort William was hung half-mast high during the whole day. At twenty minutes before seven the funeral procession moved from Chowringhee, amidst every public demonstration of respectful sorrow. It consisted of the hearse, attended by the mutes and plume-bearers, and followed by the late Bishop's carriage, and five mourning-coaches, containing the clergy, the pall-bearers, and mourners, with a numerous train of the carriages of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta. Minute guns were discharged from the ramparts of Fort William from the moment of the departure of the procession till its arrival at the cathedral. The entrance of the procession into the church, which was hung with black, and lighted, was marked by a solemn dirge from the organ. The proper psalm was read by the archdeacon, Dr. Loring, and the lesson by Mr.

Corrie; after which was sung Handel's anthem, —"When the ear heard him, then it blessed him; and when the eye saw him then it gave witness to him. His body is buried in peace, but his name liveth evermore." The body was then lowered into the grave[1] within the communion rails, while the archdeacon concluded the solemn service. On the following Sunday, the archdeacon displayed the character and services of his deceased Bishop, in a funeral sermon, which left a deep impression on the hearts of the Christian community of Calcutta.

It had been the wish of Bishop Middleton to be interred in the vault beneath the college chapel, had it been consecrated at the time of his death. But, although the incomplete state of the edifice rendered it impracticable to deposit his remains there, the following beautifully simple inscription, composed by himself, has been since placed in the chapel:—

In. hoc. Sacello[2].
Nomen. meum. servandum. volui.
Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, S.T.P.

[1] Bishop Middleton was the first person interred in the cathedral, by the special permission of the government.

[2] If the chapel had been consecrated, and the Bishop buried there, the beginning of this inscription was to have been thus varied:—

Prope. hunc. locum.
Mortales. exuvias. reponendas. volui. &c. &c. &c.

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Primus. Diœceseos. Calcuttensis. Episcopus.
Hujusce. Collegii. Ædificandi. Suasor.
Et. pro. viribus. adjutor.
Jesu. Christe.
Lux. mundi. peccatorum. salus.
Præconibus. tuis. hinc. exeuntibus.
Optima. quæque. dona. elargiaris.
Et. miserescas. animæ. meæ.

Obiit. anno. Redemptoris. MDCCCXXII.
Ætatis. LIII.
Episcopatus. IX.
Voluit. ELIZABETHA, uxor. conjunctissima.
Eodem. marmore. insigniri.

In person, Bishop Middleton was something above the usual stature. His complexion was florid; and his features were handsome and commanding. His form indicated no ordinary measure of activity and vigour; and it appeared, on an examination of the body, that the general organization was perfect, and the frame sound and healthful, without the slightest discernible indication of premature decay. It was remarked, however, that there were some peculiarities in the structure and conformation of the skull and brain, which, in the judgment of professional men, amply accounted for that susceptible disposition, and liability to nervous excitement, which he frequently displayed in his life time, and which the cares of his vast diocese were incessantly aggravating. In temperament he was sanguine and

zealous; full of energy in the pursuit of objects which he believed to be praiseworthy and important,—intensely solicitous for the success of his exertions,—and liable, consequently, to occasional depression, from the effects of unreasonable and vexatious opposition. In one respect he was unquestionably an ambitious man,—he was animated by an ardent passion to be distinguished among the wise and the good. He had incessant aspirations after every thing that can raise and dignify human nature. *Whatsoever things were just, or lovely, or of good report,—if there were any virtue, or if there were any praise,* such were the things perpetually present to his hopes and meditations.

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His thirst for knowledge was almost insatiable. His powers of intellect were vigorous and excursive, and his memory at once ready and tenacious; and the result was, that his scholarship was of the highest order. His admiration of the Greek writers,—more especially of their works in prose,—was almost enthusiastic; and it would perhaps be difficult to name any literary man, of these latter days, whose knowledge of them was more intimate or more extensive. Among English divines he is entitled to an honourable place. His theology was derived, not from modern compilations, but from a minute and laborious study of the sacred text, illustrated by the eloquence and by the expositions of the primitive Christian

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writers. Next to the study of the Bible itself, ecclesiastical history was, probably, his favourite pursuit. There is reason to believe that no important period in the annals of the Church were left unexplored by him; and that, in these researches, he trusted to no guidance but that of the original authorities.

On the private virtues of Bishop Middleton, it is impossible for those who knew him best, to reflect without a melancholy delight. In describing them, however, the author of these pages can hardly make any righteous pretensions to absolute and rigorous impartiality. A long acquaintance with the excellences of his lost friend may, perhaps, have disqualified him for a clear discernment of the spots and blemishes which may have been scattered over his character. He is, however, conscious of no wilful exaggeration in representing Bishop Middleton as distinguished by those qualities which exalt into solemnity and sacredness, our regrets for the loss of great and good men. They who have enjoyed his society and his friendship, can never think of him without feeling *their hearts burn within them.* A mere enumeration of all that was valuable in his character, would convey no just impression of the man. We might say that he was warm and generous in his attachments,—that, as a husband, he was kind and affectionate,—that in all the various relations of life he was

exemplary,—that he was benevolent and charitable, and munificently generous,—and that his heart was warm with that *good-will towards men*, which is felt by none so deeply as by those, whose whole faculties are devoted to *the glory of God*. All this we might most truly say, and yet without conveying a clear and appropriate conception of the truth. To obtain a just notion of the individual, as distinguished from many other amiable men, we must imagine these qualities in combination with a certain loftiness of mind,—with an utter incapacity for any thing base or sordid,—with a singleness and integrity of heart, which would lead those who knew him to consign to his keeping, with entire confidence, any interest, whether public or private, and however sacred and momentous.

In some respects, there is great reason to believe, that his disposition and temper have been much mistaken by many, whose knowledge of him was derived solely from their intercourse with him as a public man. Those who may be tolerably familiar with the more imposing features of his character, will probably learn, with surprise, that by nature he was not merely kind and easy tempered, but singularly sportive and playful [1]. To him no mere earthly recreation

[1] In this and some following parts of the Memoir, the Author has ventured to introduce some sentences, which he has already submitted to the public, in the pages of the Christian Remembrancer, for June 1827.

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seemed equal to the *abandonment* of a select social circle. When surrounded by a few friends, who possessed his confidence and attachment, nothing could be more winning or more animating than his society. His vast stores of erudition, his quick memory, his keen perception of pleasantry and humour—always kept "within the limits of becoming mirth,"—rendered him one of the most instructive and entertaining of companions. Among his severest sacrifices in India, he used to reckon the loss of that sort of conversation, which is enlivened by the brisk and frequent interchange of classical application and allusion; one of the most innocent, and, at the same time, most delightful recreations that can be enjoyed by a finished scholar; but which it can be scarcely reasonable to expect in a society so peculiarly constituted as that of India. This circumstance is mentioned purely for the purpose of shewing how open he was to all those blameless and "unreproved pleasures," which sweeten the repose and leisure of superior minds.

That, like all human beings, he had his failings, it would be absurd to question. But it may safely be affirmed, that even his defects arose, either from the excessive operation of some good principle, or from the extreme delicacy of his nervous temperament. It is well known, for instance, that, by many in India, his

personal demeanour was thought to be rather too deeply stamped with official solemnity and rigour. If this were really the case, no doubt can be entertained by those who knew him well, that the peculiarity was connected with his lively and habitual sense of duty; certainly with no feeling so worthless as that of personal arrogance, or love of ostentation. He was placed in a post of almost unexampled difficulty; in a situation, the novelty of which demanded inflexible firmness, and unwearied vigilance; and which, not unnaturally, led him to believe that it would scarcely be prudent for him to lay aside, for a moment, the high public character which he was called upon to maintain without compromise. Under these very peculiar and trying circumstances, it would not be surprising, if the posture of dignity, which he often felt himself compelled *defensively* to assume, should, gradually and imperceptibly, have given to his manner an air of constraint and reserve, very far from natural to the man.

Again,—there never, perhaps, existed an individual more intensely anxious to do right than Bishop Middleton; and this incessant solicitude, aggravated by the want of legal advice and support in ecclesiastical matters of the greatest delicacy and perplexity, and acting, too, upon a constitution which, though robust, was unusually sensitive—may, at times, have given to his behaviour

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an appearance of irritability, impatience, and agitation. When we recollect the opposition he had to encounter, the jealous vigilance with which he was beset, and the vexation which perpetually assailed him, in the discharge of his new and arduous functions, it is truly wonderful, —(and it shews the depth and power of the principles which supported him),—that the constant influence of this acute sensibility should, to the last, have left his strength and steadiness of purpose wholly unimpaired. That it must have rendered the process of arriving at his conclusions extremely harassing, there can be no doubt: but yet, when his resolution was once formed, he was always found to remain *stedfast and unmoveable.* His nerves may often have been shaken, but the moral principle within continued utterly impregnable. It can scarcely, however, be questioned that this severe and long continued wear of spirits must have materially hastened the period at which he was to bow down beneath his burden.

Of his labours as a Christian prelate who shall be worthy to speak? And, in the first place, who can fitly estimate that triumph of self-denial which he was enabled to achieve, when he obeyed the voice which summoned him to the diocese of India? When he was invited to this vast and untried sphere of duty, be it always remembered, he was in the plenitude of comfort,

happiness, and reputation at home. He was enjoying the society of the most distinguished scholars and divines of his day; and he was, himself, among the most eminent of their number. He was, further, well known as a powerful preacher, as an active, zealous, learned, and most intelligent churchman, as one fit to stand in the foremost ranks as a champion of the establishment. It would be difficult to name many individuals of his time, whose prospects of distinction and preferment were more bright and promising. Besides, nothing could exceed his attachment to his clerical friends and fellow-labourers at home, or the respect and esteem with which his friendship was repaid by them; nothing could be more keen than his relish for the enjoyments of that enlightened society in the midst of which he lived. If, therefore, mere secular interests or motives could have made themselves heard, when he was called to the task of founding the Anglo-Indian Church, that Church would never have had him for her spiritual father; and the banks of the Ganges might never have been adorned and hallowed by a monument so noble, as that which will now transmit his name to the remotest ages.

His sacrifice of literary eminence was, if possible, still more admirable than his abandonment of all professional hopes in his native land. And here, it would absolutely be unpardonable

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to defraud his memory of the just and eloquent testimony pronounced by his admirable successor, Bishop Heber.

"It was by a more than usual attention to the consistencies of his appropriate character, and to the paramount and indispensable necessity of his appropriate pursuits and duties, that the character of Bishop Middleton, became that which you beheld, and that which he, for the example of us all, has left behind him. That great and good man, had his mind been attracted to secular objects, possessed much of every quality on which the world bestows its favour. But, though his memory was stored with all profane and civil literature, the application of his learning and talents was to ecclesiastical purposes only. He ranked among the very foremost critics of his age: yet it was to Scriptural criticism only that his acumen was directed. He had, I am assured, an inexhaustible supply of lighter and more elegant literature; yet he sought to be remembered as a preacher and a theologian only. Nay, more, when his life-long labours were at length drawing near their term, as if fearing the applause of men, even in those branches of study which were strictly appropriate and ministerial, he consigned, as a last sacrifice, his laboured manuscripts to the flames; content to live in the memory of those who personally knew, and loved, and honoured him, and

desiring no other reward than the mercy of him, to whom his thoughts, his studies, and his prayers, had been long and steadily directed.

"One monument, however, he has left behind, of the zeal which prompted, the wisdom which planned, and the munificence which largely contributed to it, which must long preserve his name in the grateful recollection of the Indian Church; and which bids fair, under Divine protection, to become a greater blessing to these extensive lands, than any they have received from their foreign lords, since the gate was first opened by the Portuguese to the commerce and conquest of Asia[1]."

Of the principles which guided him in the administration of his diocese, the foregoing Memoir will have put the reader in full possession. He went out to India, as he entered the Church in England, under the profound conviction that episcopacy is, not merely one of many convenient forms of governing the Church of Christ, but that it is *the* form which was originally instituted by his Apostles, and which, *without interruption or question*, had been continued from generation to generation, from the Apostolic times to the days of Calvin. He therefore felt a *dispensation laid upon him* to maintain all the rights and prerogatives, attached to the episcopal function and character,

[1] Bishop Heber's Primary Charge at Calcutta.

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inviolable. To purchase popularity by a surrender of those rights, was, in his estimate, no less than a perfidious, and almost sacrilegious, breach of the highest trust. The office of a bishop he regarded as a sacred deposit, consigned to him for the benefit of the flock of Christ; accepted by him, not to pamper his own self-importance, but to enable him to lay, broad and deep, in the imperishable rock, the foundations of the Indo-British Church. To talk to him, therefore, of *concession*, when the just authority of his office was in question, was like proposing to a *faithful* steward that his master's debtors should be invited to write eighty measures on their bills, when a hundred was the number due. Besides, every day, and almost every hour, of his residence in India, taught him that concession and conciliation do not always go hand in hand:—nay, more, that it would be absolutely impossible for a bishop of India, who should make conciliation his *ruling* principle, to guard his authority from violation or decay. It is, indeed, very far from surprising, that the state of his diocese should have been such as, day by day, to fortify him in that conviction. From the hour in which a British factory had first been planted on her shores, up to the period of our imperial domination there, no Protestant bishop had ever been seen in Hindostan. A religious establishment was a thing scarcely known, or even imagined.

The very chaplains of the Company were so accustomed to civil or military control, that spiritual jurisdiction seemed to them, at first, almost like an usurping innovation. Episcopacy, therefore, on its introduction, met with ambiguous support, or open prejudice and opposition. And how, under such circumstances, was the edifice to be completed by a builder who should appear to work as if he distrusted his foundations; or who, by an attitude of hesitation and diffidence, should invite the scornful to leap over his walls, as they were rising above the ground? How, in short, could the achievement be carried on, in the midst of hostility and assault, but by one whose heart was strong in the persuasion that the cause entrusted to him was sacred; and that the fabric he had to rear must be *fitly and firmly framed together in order that it might grow into a holy temple in the Lord.*

There is one erroneous view of the episcopal office in India, which needs correction even in this country, and the prevalence of which, in the East, was a source of constant embarrassment to Bishop Middleton. It is not unusual to imagine that the president of our Asiatic Church, is chiefly to be regarded as a sort of head missionary; and that his principal duty is to encourage and keep alive the work of conversion among the natives. To this view of his office Bishop Middleton firmly, and most justly, opposed him-

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self, in the very outset of his administration. The primary object for which he came out, was to govern an established Christian Church; and he conceived that his situation and his authority would have undergone no *essential* change, even if the design of spreading the Gospel among the Hindoos had been abandoned by all parties without exception. So long as there should remain in India a community of persons already professing the Christian religion, so long would the presence of a bishop be required for its spiritual superintendence and government. To merge the pastoral in the missionary character would, therefore, be no less than, virtually, to desert the station which he was expressly appointed to maintain, and to change it for other ground, which would afford him no appropriate or distinct position.

On this principal it was, that he was uniformly anxious to keep the duties of the clergy, and those of the missionaries, separate from each other. It has been shewn that there was a constant and powerful tendency towards a confusion of these characters,—a tendency which he found it extremely difficult to counteract. In spite of all impediments, however, he felt it his duty to persevere in his resistance to it. Had he done otherwise, the usefulness of either office might, in all probability, have been seriously impaired: and, besides this, the Bishop might, then, have

had within his diocese a set of persons, who, in the discharge of their clerical functions would have been under *his* jurisdiction, while, for missionary purposes, they could have continued amenable to an association of individuals. CHAP. XXVIII. 1822.

But though he was inflexible in the resolution to maintain the post to which he had been sent forth, it would be most injurious to imagine that he never considered himself as a debtor to the heathen. To the heathen all Christians are debtors, according to the amount of their power and their opportunities. A Christian bishop, therefore, who is worthy of the name, will never think of disowning that sacred obligation. And accordingly, whenever Bishop Middleton could direct or animate the labours of conversion, without deserting his own appropriate and peculiar station, he was ready to devote himself, with all his faculties and all his resources, to that glorious and blessed work. In truth, he regarded the episcopal office as a position which, though not assigned to him for that express purpose, was yet, of all others, the most commanding and most advantageous for the superintendence and the encouragement of missionary operations. And if it be possible that a doubt of his sincerity in this matter should still lurk in any candid mind, we have only to point to Bishop's Mission College for an irresistible refutation of it.

They who would learn to appreciate justly the

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services of Bishop Middleton, should know the language in which his worth is recorded, by those who were in constant official intercourse with him; or by those who were fully in his confidence, and intimately acquainted with his views and principles. The following, for instance, in the language of a gentleman very eminent in official station at Calcutta, in his correspondence with his friends in England shortly after the Bishop's death:—

"During the last week my mind and time have been much occupied in a very distressing duty, that of assisting and comforting poor Mrs. Middleton, under her sudden and severe bereavement. I have written to my brother a very detailed account of the heavy loss which we have sustained in the death of the Bishop. On Tuesday the 2d inst. I had a long and very gratifying conversation with him; he was in the enjoyment of perfect health, and occupied in speculations as to the means of diffusing knowledge and truth in this part of the world; his own plans and intentions, if Providence should spare his life; his past cares and anxieties, and his future hopes, and prospects. That same evening he was taken ill, and he died on the following Monday. The situation in which Dr. Middleton found himself on his arrival here was a very arduous one. In the discharge of his public functions he has conducted himself with excellent judgment,

sobriety, good sense, and moderation; by one class of persons, who anticipated from him immediate and decided exertions for the conversion of the natives, he is considered to have been lukewarm in the cause of truth, and not to have sufficiently supported the labours of missionaries. But, as far as I can judge, he pursued, soberly and zealously, the only course calculated to accomplish the object in question. Had he adopted the notions of those too hotly eager for conversion, he would have excited jealousy, fear, and suspicion, to a degree which would, in all human probability, have not only created immediate mischief, but would have placed obstacles in the way of future success, which no subsequent explanation or prudence could have removed. He looked to the general spread of education and knowledge amongst our ignorant population as necessary to prepare the way for more direct endeavours; and he gave his cordial support to the efforts of individuals and of societies directed to that object. But his chief attention, in the first instance, was judiciously given to the claims and wants of those amongst us who were, or called themselves, Christians.

"He preached frequently; and his discourses, which were always clear, forcible, and eloquent, were, I am satisfied, productive of much real good. *A beneficial change has certainly taken place in our society, of late years, and, in my*

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opinion, that change is mainly ascribable to the Bishop. His influence was unfortunately weakened by a defect in his own character. His high notions of his office, led to the assumption, of a formal and rather haughty manner; and he was, in consequence, thought pompous, repulsive, and too acutely alive to any supposed want of respect on the part of others. His loss, however, is duly and deeply felt; his measures have smoothed the path to his successor; and it is not likely that we shall have a successor possessing the high essential qualifications for the office with which Dr. Middleton was gifted.

"The income fixed for the Bishop of Calcutta is very inadequate; and Dr. Middleton was compelled to adopt a course *of very strict domestic economy,* to enable him to meet the calls of charity and benevolence, to which he was subject from all parts of his diocese. I should be glad if the salary could be largely increased. He has, in the most solemn manner, enjoined the immediate destruction of all his sermons and manuscript compositions of every sort. This is a source of deep regret to all who knew him. He had preached here a course of lectures on the Litany, full of learning, eloquence, and piety; and he had contemplated their eventual publication, after he should have revised them for the press; but he has positively directed that they also should be burnt."

To this we may add the testimony of one, who admired and venerated him in his life time, who could not be prompted by interest to overrate his virtues, and whose very name will repel the suspicion of any oblique or unworthy motive. "It would be scarcely reasonable," (says archdeacon Barnes, in a letter to a friend in England, during the vacancy of the see), "to expect another so great and good a man as Dr. Middleton, at once a scholar and a divine, from conscience firmly attached to his Church, and, in very difficult times, and trying occasions, supporting her interest with temper, firmness, and judgment." The same estimable and highly respected individual, on another occasion, speaks thus of his departed diocesan:—"In point of learning, and sound divinity, and zeal, and piety, and, I will add, *moderation also*, with great and high talents and abilities, no man could have been selected more fully qualified than Bishop Middleton. His *only* fault was something of a high carriage in his public demeanour, which gave an unfavourable impression to many, who will scarcely believe him to have had all those kind and benevolent feelings which I always found on more intimate acquaintance." Such is the language of archdeacon Barnes. It would be little better than superfluous and impertinent to heap up further testimony.

It will scarcely be thought a digression to intro-

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duce here a representation, by the same high and unimpeachable authority, of the blessings already conferred by the Established Church in India, within the limits of his own archdeaconry, and in the course of the ten years of his own service.

"When I came to Bombay in 1814[1], (says the archdeacon) there were only four chaplains on this establishment, and of these, *three* were absent. On my landing, therefore, I undertook a chaplain's duty, and performed it for several months. I succeeded in getting the Bombay government to recommend my application for an increase of chaplains, and the number was made *nine*. Last year, as the other establishments, in consequence of the extension of territory, were enlarged, I applied for a further increase, and the number is now made *twelve*; which would, perhaps, be sufficient, if that number could always be secured as resident in India. I found, also, in 1814, only *one* church in my archdeaconry, with a room, indeed, fitted up and appropriated as one, at an out-station. Since then, *four* have been erected, of which *three* have been opened for Divine service, and the *fourth* is nearly ready. Those at Poonah and Kairah are exceedingly handsome buildings with lofty spires. *Another* church has just been sanctioned, and plans and estimates for *two more*

[1] In a letter dated January 9, 1824.

have been called for. All this is very gratifying, and, when added to the institution of religious societies, (as the district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Education Society, the proceedings of which you are well acquainted with), shew the benefit of the new ecclesiastical establishment; for surely the increase of clergy, the building of churches, the establishment of schools, and the supply of religious books and tracts, must promote the extension of Christ's Church in the most effectual manner."

If there be any who are doubtful of the efficacy and usefulness of an established Episcopal Church in our Asiatic territories, let them meditate on the above faithful exposition, which exhibits such a Church in its legitimate and regular operation. The detailed history of the other two presidencies for the same period, would, doubtless, present us with results at least equally glorious and animating; and would satisfy us that, while the first Protestant prelate of India was harassed with doubts whether the Divine blessing had descended on the work committed to his hand, that work was silently prospering beyond all the hopes and all the calculations of the most sanguine benevolence and piety.

If it could be needful to establish by further proof the usefulness and efficacy of our episcopal

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polity and discipline in India, we might request of any dispassionate spectator that he would compare that branch of our religious institutions, as it now exhibits itself,—in its united character, its expanding energy, and its constantly accumulating moral influence,—with the condition to which the cause of the Church was reduced when Bishop Middleton took possession of his see. At that time many valuable clergymen were, doubtless, devoting their hearts, their talents, and the best portion of their lives, to the conscientious discharge of their sacred duties in those regions. But they were unavoidably doomed to act without support, without concert, without that mutual *sharpening of countenance*[1], which gives so powerful an edge to the exertions of Christian friends and brethren. They were left with no superior to advise or to encourage them; with no authority to direct and control their labours. The usefulness of each minister was, almost wholly, confined to the narrow circle of his own personal ministrations; and the consequence was, that the efficiency of the clerical body was, in a great measure, dissipated and lost, for want of that principle of concentration which results from the superintendence of a single mind. While a few unconnected individuals were scattered over that vast territory, and labouring for the improve-

[1] Prov. xxvii. 17.

ment of dispersed communities of Christians, the Church, of which they were the only representatives, had scarcely "a local habitation or a name" in India. Its power over the public mind and heart was absolutely nothing. Even among its own professed members, its influences were scarcely felt, and its authority well nigh forgotten; and among the natives, its very existence as a Church was utterly unknown. The beneficial change which has been effected, in all these respects, since the local establishment of episcopacy, is, happily, notorious and undeniable. Numerous and mighty obstacles may yet, it is true, remain to be surmounted. The contemplation, however, of what has already been achieved, must be abundantly sufficient to strengthen our reliance on the Divine protection; and to animate us with the hope that the toils, the anxieties, and the prayers, of this illustrious prelate will not have been *in vain in the Lord*. *Humanly speaking*, there is one thing, and one thing only, which can defeat his *labours of love*,—the want of generous courage, and devoted zeal, and sustained perseverance, in the country which sent him forth to this vast sphere of exertion.

Such, then, have been the blessed effects of that wisdom and piety which, at last, have planted an Apostolic Church in India; and, such as we have seen, were the masculine firm-

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ness of character, the power of intellect, the maturity of judgment, the elevated self-devotion, which the first Protestant bishop brought to the accomplishment of that holy enterprise. In this cause he counted not his life dear unto him; and, unquestionably, he poured out his soul unto death, for its prosperity and honour. Here then, let us cease from any further attempt either to disclose his virtues, or to draw forth his failings "from their dread abode." His virtues are laid up as a treasure which is become the invaluable and sacred property of the Christian world. His failings, it were almost impious to doubt, will find abundant mercy at the hand of that God, whom he served in faith and fear, and *with heart, and soul, and strength.*

It should have been mentioned above, that, in addition to his donation of 400*l.* for the decoration of the chapel of Bishop's College, and the service of communion plate from Mrs. Middleton, the Bishop left a legacy of 500*l.* to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with the power of selecting five hundred volumes from his own noble collection for the college library.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Contrast of character between Bishop Middleton and Bishop Heber—Evil policy of placing so large a diocese under the charge of a single bishop—Necessity of dividing the See of Calcutta according to the Presidencies—Writings and publications of Bishop Middleton—Character of his Sermons—Mrs. Middleton—Public proceedings of the Church Societies in England consequent on the Bishop's death.

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THE loss of such a man as Bishop Middleton irresistibly invites us to a momentary contemplation of the distinguished prelate who was selected to supply his place. The imagination can scarcely, perhaps, picture a contrast, in some respects, more striking, than that which was exhibited in the characters of Bishop Middleton and his successor. It is, nevertheless, such a contrast as may well exist between two great and good men. Many qualities they had in common with each other. Each was distinguished by rich and various mental accomplishments, by a noble and almost saint-like disregard of mere personal interest, and by an

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entire dedication of himself to the holy cause which called them forth from their country. But, in the general "*form and pressure*" of their minds, they were totally dissimilar. The soul of Heber was essentially poetical. He surveyed with the eye of a poet all the regions both of art and nature,—the achievements of man, and the works and word of God. The power of poetry descended upon his dreams, and visited him in his private meditations and devotions, and often shed a celestial radiance over his ministrations in the sanctuary. In Bishop Middleton the imaginative faculty was far less predominant. His chief endowments were a profound and penetrating sagacity,—a vast strength of purpose,—a robust frame of mind, less fitted to pursue the bright creations of fancy, than to wrestle with severe truth, or to grapple with the stubborn realities of life. The characters of these two men may, perhaps, be said to have borne towards each other a relation somewhat resembling that which painting bears to sculpture. The canvass delights in the glow and richness of vivid colouring, the intricate vicissitudes of light and shadow, and the endless combination of objects and variety of distances. All these the marble rejects. It may be able, indeed, to bear the impress of every passion which can agitate our nature, or of every excellence which can dignify it; but the effect is

always, more or less, accompanied by something of a sober and austere simplicity. It is, perhaps, scarcely too fanciful to surmise that, of those who intimately knew each of these eminent worthies, there might be some, who would so far enter into the spirit of this comparison, as to desiderate a painting of Heber, while they regarded a statue as the more appropriate representation of his great predecessor.

The same contrast which ran through their moral nature, prevailed in their intellectual. The souls of both were thoroughly pervaded by a solemn sense of Christian duty; but this principle was displayed according to the different temperaments of the men. In the one, it often took the form of steady and inflexible resolution; in the other, the aspect of facility and mildness. The one seemed incessantly watchful over himself, lest the pleasure of compliance should betray him into the surrender of something which duty commanded him to maintain: the other appeared fearful lest the responsibilities of public life should make him insensible to the feelings and the wishes of men whose worth entitled them to respect. The one was on his guard against the suggestions of easy and mistaken benevolence. The other was fearful lest official integrity and firmness should *petrify*, at last, into obstinacy and self-will.

Different, however, as these individuals were,

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it would seem to have been providentially appointed that two such men should appear in India, in the order which actually occurred. Without the unbending constancy of Bishop Middleton, it is very doubtful whether the foundations of the Episcopal Church could have been solidly and permanently laid. But when that great work was once accomplished, the same degree of stern energy might not, perhaps, be so absolutely essential for carrying on the superstructure, and applying the decorations, and executing the details of that mighty and glorious design. When Bishop Heber arrived, the most enlightened portion of the Anglo-Indian public had been taught to regard the episcopal establishment with deep respect. The commanding qualities of the first bishop had secured for it the veneration of the community. It is not, therefore, altogether surprising that his successor should feel himself the more at liberty to follow the native impulse of his temper, and to choose the kindlier office of engaging in its behalf their cordial attachment and fidelity. And never surely was any human being more consummately adapted, than that successor, for the office of winning the affections. The singleness of his heart, the simplicity of his manners, the heavenly sweetness of his temper, the passionate devotion of all his faculties to the work of an evangelist,—seemed to bend towards him the

hearts of all the people, as the heart of one man. They who were, at first, surprised at the unostentatious plainness of his demeanor, were soon overpowered by the vast resources and genuine dignity of his mind. The result has been, that in the course of twelve years the labours of these two men have surrounded the Indian Church with reverence and affection, and have associated episcopacy in the public mind with every thing that is admirable in learning and genius, or sublime in piety and virtue. CHAP. XXIX. 1822.

But it has seemed fit to the unsearchable wisdom of God to remove these, his *good and faithful servants*, from the scene of their labours; the one in the very height of his usefulness, the other before he had well surveyed the field of his exertions: and the dust of two English bishops, we might almost say, two English martyrs, has now mixed itself with the soil of Hindostan. Let us hope that their remains have given a sort of consecration to that vast territory, and marked it out, in the sight of men and angels, as a portion of the Redeemer's inheritance. Reflections and anticipations like these are greatly needed, to support us under the loss of two such men, and under the bitter disappointment inflicted on the Church by the policy, which appointed only a *single* successor to those illustrious prelates. It becomes us, perhaps, to abstain from speculating too deeply on the reasons which rendered the

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State deaf to the intreaties of the Church, and which again consigned to one spiritual director and governor, a field, in all its compass of duty, scarcely too extensive for the labours of an Apostolic college; and which tends to fix on our Protestant institutions the reproach of a languid zeal for the highest interests of mankind. It is scarcely possible, however, to suppress the "*searchings of heart*," and the painful bodings, occasioned by this prodigy of lukewarmness or frugality. We cannot forget that it must reduce any individual who may undertake this overpowering charge to a most appalling alternative. It must either compel him to go forth to his labours, with a resolution to offer up his life in the cause, and probably to bring on a speedy repetition of the manifold and unspeakable mischiefs that must always attend a protracted suspension of the episcopal functions in that enormous diocese; or it must tempt him to the adoption of a maxim, which all overlaboured functionaries may be strongly impelled to call in to their relief; namely, the high-minded aphorism, that where business is too heavy to be properly disposed of, we must satisfy ourselves with getting through it with all practicable ease! It is, of course, quite inconceivable that public men would, consciously and deliberately, incur the guilt of reducing to such an alternative even the most exalted virtue and piety. One is,

therefore, willing to take refuge in the surmise, that the turmoil and confusion of secular and political interests may, sometimes, have the effect of partially suspending the religious sensibilities of statesmen; and of making them, in a degree, unconscious of the evils inflicted on the human race by inattention to their moral and spiritual improvement. This conjecture furnishes, indeed, but a comfortless retreat from painful feelings. It is, however, far less wretched than the belief, that our temporal governors are capable of wilfully trifling with the most precious and important of all the concerns committed to their guardianship.

It must, of course, be in the recollection of every reader, that reflections like these have received a melancholy justification from the death of another exemplary prelate, Bishop James, the successor of Heber in the diocese of Calcutta, who was smitten down almost before the crozier was firm within his grasp, and whose decease imposed on India another long and disastrous suspension of the episcopal authority [1]. That a frequent recurrence of the evil may reasonably

[1] Nearly four years elapsed between the death of Bishop Heber, and the commencement of his episcopal duties by the present bishop, Dr. Turner; and during that interval, with the exception of the very short period of Bishop James's administration, the diocese of India was deprived of episcopal superintendence!

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be expected, under the present system, must appear, from a consideration of the unceasing labour unavoidably incident to the episcopal office in a diocese co-extensive with so enormous a dominion. If, indeed, the Christian population of India were collected within the limits of a moderate territory, it possibly might not be beyond the powers of one man to administer effectually, and without excessive toil, the ecclesiastical government of such a community. But, that an exaggerated estimate has not been formed of the labours, actually occasioned by the dispersion of the Christians over such immense regions, is irresistibly clear from the whole tenor of the foregoing narrative. We have there seen that the life of Bishop Middleton in India, was a life of incessant toil. His exertions were such as must have put to a severe test the firmest constitution and the steadiest spirits, even at an earlier period of life, and under a temperate climate, and favourable circumstances. In a tropical region, no human energies can, for many years together, endure such a course of application. It has sometimes, indeed, been suggested, that the duties of the Indian diocese are assuredly not heavier than those which are attached to the office of Governor-general; and that if the energies of an individual are equal to the task of administering the temporal interests of that vast empire, there is no reason why they

should sink under the labours of its ecclesiastical government. A moment's consideration must shew the fallacy of such an argument; for, in fact, the offices admit of no comparison. The Company's territories in India, it should always be remembered, are divided into three distinct presidencies, the local details of which very rarely demand the care or the control of the Governor-general; his interference being chiefly confined to the adjustment of their relations with the native powers. It should, further, be recollected, that the statesman who governs India, is assisted by the judgment of responsible counsellors, and by the advice of legal authorities; and, besides, that he is relieved from the burden of official drudgery, by a liberal apparatus of secretaries and preparatory boards. The bishop who administers the Church of India, has no such assistance or relief. He is without the aid of a clerical chapter, and even responsible or legal advisers; and he has no bureau at his command to lighten the manual labour of an incessant and very extended correspondence. He is, in short, a solitary, unaided functionary, weighed down at once with cares which demand the highest faculties of his mind, and with toil which exacts the most unsparing sacrifice of his bodily ease: he is, moreover, chained to his post for a period of service which is scarcely ever exacted of the supreme governor of India.

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Besides, it seems to be almost forgotten, that personal visitation and inspection, and a close acquaintance with the clerical body and their several local duties, are absolutely necessary to the effective discharge of the episcopal functions. If, therefore, there is to be but a single prelate for the whole of Hindostan, including the king's colony of Ceylon, an enormous portion, both of his time and strength, must inevitably be consumed in protracted and harassing expeditions both by sea and land. It can scarcely be necessary to dwell, at greater length, on the obvious dissimilarity of these two cases. Their disparity may be conclusively summed up in this single question:—What estimate should we form of the judgment of any individual, who should remind us, that one prime minister is sufficient for the government of the British empire; and should gravely expect us to be satisfied that, therefore, a single bishop might well be able to take charge of every diocese within it?

But the overwhelming toil imposed on the bishop of *all India*, is by no means the only consideration which demands a division of the diocese. It has already been remarked that, for all civil purposes, our Eastern possessions are divided into three presidencies; each having its separate governor and council, and its separate judicial, civil, military, and medical departments; while, in ecclesiastical matters alone, the British

interests are placed under the administration of a single individual. One inevitable consequence of this arrangement has been incidentally adverted to above: it exposes the diocese to perpetual interruptions of the episcopal authority. On the decease of a bishop, the Church must look to England for his successor. Every vacancy, therefore, must be followed by a tedious interval, during the whole of which, the business of the diocese goes on accumulating, to fall with more intolerable weight upon the shoulders of the next prelate. It is no answer to say that, in the absence of the bishop, the ecclesiastical administration may, without inconvenience or confusion, be carried on by the archdeacons. There are various functions which, according to the constitution of the Church, none but a bishop can execute; and the suspension of these, for a period of twelve or eighteen months, is an evil of enormous weight, especially in a diocese of such vast magnitude. Besides, it is perfectly obvious that a government carried on by substitutes or representatives, must always be comparatively deficient in promptitude and efficacy. No merely temporary or delegated authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, can be exercised with the same vigour as if it were original, or command, in the same degree, the respect and confidence of the public.

But further, if the immense extent of the

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diocese of Calcutta be such as to demand the care of more than a single bishop, the circumstances of India require that the division of that diocese should be made conformable to the separation of the empire into distinct presidencies. The same reason which placed an archdeacon at each of those presidencies, would obviously demand that, in the event of a division, a bishop should be placed at the head of each archdeaconry. Not only are the presidencies distinct in their establishments, but within the limits of each are numerous stations at which military and civil servants of the Company are resident, who may, in justice, expect an adequate provision for the maintenance of the religion in which they were born and nurtured. In each presidency, likewise, is a large, and constantly increasing population of the Indo-European race. These it is neither safe nor right to leave without the amplest facilities for uniting themselves with that religious form and establishment which is intimately connected with the state, and for which they have already manifested a very strong partiality. In many parts of India, also, and more especially in the south, under the presidency of Madras, there are considerable numbers of native Christians, belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and who, from every consideration of prudence and of right, should be provided by the British

government with a supply of regular ministers, and be placed under the paternal care of a British prelate. And by no arrangement can these great and holy objects be so effectually accomplished, as by the establishment of distinct dioceses, co-extensive with the presidencies into which the empire is already divided for the purposes of political administration.

One objection, indeed, there is to the proposed division of the diocese, which has hitherto been produced as absolutely fatal,—it would entail an additional burden on the finances of the Company, which, it is said, are now calling for retrenchment throughout every department of the service. With reference to this consideration, however, it is surely reasonable to ask, whether the needful reduction of superfluities in the various departments of that service, either civil or military, can afford a sufficient reason for omitting to complete a department, which, at present, is manifestly and notoriously imperfect, and inadequate to its high and sacred purposes. The duty of a frugal administration of national resources will not, of course, be questioned for a moment; but it is earnestly to be hoped, that the finances of our eastern empire are very far indeed from a state of such disorder, that the allowance requisite for two additional bishops would prove a ruinous, or even a very inconvenient burden. But there is yet a more urgent

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and solemn consideration. Can any economy be more wise, or more effectual, or more truly entitled to the name, than that which provides, upon a liberal scale, for the highest interests of mankind; which honours and supports that cause to which potentates are indebted for the obedience of their subjects, and empires for their peace, their stability, and their grandeur? Can a Christian government ever lose sight of their obligation to promote the empire of holiness and virtue? And can it be doubted that the full efficacy of our episcopal establishment in the East would be most economically purchased at the additional cost of a few annual thousands? It is, surely, in this department of public expenditure, if in any, that there is a generosity *which scattereth and yet increaseth;* and that there is a parsimony *which withholdeth more than is meet, and yet it tendeth to poverty!*

Under the calamitous repulse, however, which the Church has *hitherto* experienced in her applications for a division of the Indian diocese, we are encouraged to *possess our souls in peace* by one solemn recollection; namely, that the great cause at stake is under the especial protection of Him who is always able to extract good from evil, and to overrule the blindest counsels of man to His own praise and glory. In his good time, we trust, the mighty harvest-field of India will be duly provided with labourers, and the rulers

of this land awakened to a righteous sense of the responsibility imposed on us by our connection with that country. Should they, at last, be roused to a full perception of this obligation, even by a succession of such sacrifices as we have recently deplored, the price, heavy as it might be, could scarcely be too great for the purchase of so blessed a consummation.

To return, however, to Bishop Middleton. It is very greatly to be deplored that, in his last will, dated January 19, 1821, about a year and a half previous to his death, he left a strict order that his sermons, and other writings in manuscript, should be forthwith burnt. Some of them there were, which, if his life had been spared, it was known to have been his intention to revise for the press; but most of them were left by him at his death in a state scarcely, perhaps, fit for publication. Among these we have more especially to lament the loss of his memoir on the present condition of the Syrian Church in Malabar, for which he had collected an ample and various store of precious materials, and which, as we have seen, had been the subject of his long and anxious study. Next to this work, in importance, were his lectures on the Litany; and, in our bitter regret for their loss, we may be allowed to express something like surprise that they, at least, were not preserved from destruction; for they had actually re-

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ceived his last hand since the date of the above peremptory condemnation. It may readily be imagined, that they must have been extremely valuable, composed, as they were, with the design of unfolding to his congregation the inestimable excellencies of that Liturgy, which he himself esteemed next to the works of inspiration. They were, nevertheless, unhappily consigned to the flames, together with the rest; the injunction being considered so positive, and so indiscriminate, that his widow and executrix felt herself left without the liberty of exercising any discretion on the subject.

The performances by which only he can now be known as a writer, are the dissertation on the Greek article, which has already been spoken of; and his printed charges, and occasional sermons[1]; those, chiefly, which were delivered by him in India. Of these, it is probable that none were so attentively and anxiously laboured as the lectures on the Litany; and some of them were inevitably composed in haste, under circumstances which made much research absolutely impracticable, and which, indeed, would have rendered any thing beyond a faithful exposition of the simplest principles, wholly unseasonable, and almost useless. All of them, however, indicate a vigorous and athletic frame of mind, an

[1] Edited by archdeacon Bonney, 1824.

intellect perpetually conversant with Christian theology, and a heart intensely fixed on its effective application to the spiritual interests of man. His style is that of a person who regards every thing with a view to its practical consequences and results. It is but sparingly embellished with imagery or colouring; but it is always luminous, and often bears the impress of a severe, masculine, and powerful eloquence. His compositions are eminently fitted to accomplish many of the highest purposes of Christian ministration. They seize forcibly on the rational faculty: they leave all wilful blindness without excuse: they fix upon the mind that impression, which is always made by masterly knowledge, sagacious judgment, and unfeigned zeal.

It would be scarcely pardonable to dismiss our notice of the Bishop's writings, without presenting to the reader the following short, but eminently beautiful inscription, written by him for the Botanic Garden, and considered by himself as among the happiest of his own efforts in that style of composition :—

Quisquis. Ades.
Si. Locus. Suavitate. Mentem. Permulcet.
Aut. Admonet. Ut. Pie. Sentias. De. Deo.
Habendus. In. Honore. Tibi.
Roxburghius.
Horum. Hortorum. Olim. Præfectus.
Vir. Scientiæ. Botanices. Laude. Florens.
Idemque. Amœnitatum. Agrestium.

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Summus. Artifex.
Conservat. Cinerem. Patria.
Hic. Viget. Ingenium.
Tu. Fave. Et. Perfruere.
B. M. P. C. Superstites. Amici. A.D. MDCCCXXII.

To this is subjoined a hymn, composed by the Bishop, and always sung on New Year's day, by his own desire.

THE HYMN.

As o'er the past my mem'ry strays,
Why heaves the secret sigh?
'Tis that I mourn departed days,
Still unprepared to die.

The world and worldly things beloved
My anxious thoughts employ'd;
And time unhallow'd, unimproved,
Presents a fearful void.

Yet, Holy Father, wild despair
Chase from my lab'ring breast;
Thy grace it is which prompts the pray'r,
That grace can do the rest.

My life's brief remnant all be thine!
And when thy sure decree
Bids me this fleeting breath resign,
O speed my soul to Thee!

Bishop Middleton died without issue, and without any near relatives. Mr. Seth Stephen Ward, of the Accountant General's office, (with

whom, as we have seen, he was in constant correspondence,) and the children of that gentleman, being the only persons, allied to his family, who survived him. Of the situation of the widow of Bishop Middleton after his decease, no feeling heart will be at a loss to form some adequate conception. She found herself in a remote and foreign land, bereft and childless, and thrown almost wholly on her own religious and moral resources; but she was graciously supported under the visitation which made her desolate. At first, she appeared to be almost in danger of sinking under the pressure of the calamity, aggravated as her sufferings were by the anxiety and fatigue of her incessant attendance upon the deceased, herself only gradually recovering at the time from a severe illness. She was, however, enabled to resume her composure, and to transact the business which required her attention, with surprising self-command. In discharging the various and melancholy duties which fell upon her, she experienced invaluable assistance from Mr. Hawtayne, by whom every thing was done, which humanity or friendship could suggest, to lighten the weight of her affliction. She removed to a comparatively small, but respectable and comfortable house, and there remained till the month of November, when she embarked for England.

The limited income of the Bishop of Calcutta,

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when compared with the heavy and unavoidable expenses of his station, the large amount of house-rent, and the repeated claims on his charity from all parts of India, left him but little ability to make an adequate provision for his widow. He had, however, with due regard to her interests, effected an insurance on his life in one of the offices in London, which would have secured some addition to her comforts, on her return to England. Unfortunately, however,—through some mistake, it is believed, in the interpretation of his instructions to his agents,—the necessary payment on the policy had been discontinued, and this source of provision was altogether lost. Mrs. Middleton's income was thus reduced to such means alone as remained from the scanty savings of the Bishop, and from her own family resources. A memorial was, therefore, presented on her behalf, by Bishop Middleton's friends, to the Directors of the East India Company, who consented to grant her a pension of 200*l.* per annum, being as much as it was in their power to give, without a special sanction from the Court of Proprietors.

As soon as the loss, which the Indian Church had suffered, was known in England, it was met by a deep feeling of public and private concern. The religious societies, who had long been in close connection with Bishop Middleton, and who regarded, with unlimited confidence, the wisdom

energy, and talent with which he forwarded their views, held special meetings, at which his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury presided, to consider of the best means by which they might evince their feelings of gratitude for his services, and admiration for his abilities. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with a view to a more durable expression of their esteem and regret, came to the resolution of erecting a monument to the Bishop's memory, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, the expense to be defrayed by the individual subscriptions of members of the Society. In this resolution the members of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, were, at their own desire, permitted to co-operate. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge also agreed to place the sum of 6,000*l.* at the disposal of the sister Society, for the purpose of endowing five scholarships (besides affording the salary for a Tamul teacher) in the Mission College, Calcutta; such scholarships to be called by the name of 'Bishop Middleton's Scholarships.'

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In India, a private subscription was entered into at Calcutta and Bombay, for the purpose of erecting a small monument in the cathedral, in which his remains are deposited.

Testimonies like these are, doubtless, signally honourable to the feelings and the principles of all who have shared in offering them. And yet,

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even they who have been most active in thus honouring the memory of Bishop Middleton will be among the very foremost to allow that, after all, the noblest memorials of his worth have been raised by his own hand. The solid, and, we trust, imperishable foundations of our eastern Episcopal Church, are his work; his zeal for the diffusion of his Saviour's dominion has been embodied in a glorious monument, which may almost be said to have consecrated the banks of the Ganges to the true and living God; and his name will live enshrined in the hearts of numberless generations, who will venerate and bless him as, under Providence, the father of their peace and joy!

CHAPTER XXX.[1]

Provisions on the vacancy of the See—Death of archdeacon Loring—Appointment of Bishop Heber—Provisions for the further efficiency and comfort of the bishop of Calcutta—Increase of chaplains—Decision in the case of archdeacon Barnes and Mr. Davies—Consecration of churches—Licensing of the chaplains and missionaries—New South Wales added to the diocese—Powers given to the archdeacon of Australia—The Bishop's attention to the concerns of the Mission College—District committees formed of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—His statements of the deficiency of clergy—His visit to the southern missions—Testimony in their favour—His death—Appointment of Bishop James—His several episcopal measures and arrangements—His illness and death—Nomination of Dr. Turner as fourth Bishop of Calcutta.

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On the death of Bishop Middleton, archdeacon Loring began to take upon him the episcopal

[1] Subsequently to the compilation of the foregoing narrative, it was suggested to the author that the work would be rendered somewhat more complete by a brief outline of the affairs of the Indian Church, during the interval between the decease of Bishop Middleton and the appointment of the present bishop, Dr. Turner. In compliance with that intimation, this Supplementary Chapter has been added.

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jurisdiction, according to the terms of the letters-patent, which provided that "the archdeacon of Calcutta, during a vacancy of the see, should exercise the episcopal functions, so far as by law he might." Within two months, however, this amiable and excellent man, who had long been the intelligent assistant of Bishop Middleton, fell a sacrifice to that dreadful scourge of British India, the cholera morbus. Under such circumstances, the Governor-general in council was authorised to delegate the functions of the bishop, either to the archdeacon of Madras, or the archdeacon of Bombay, or to any two clergymen resident in India. The Marquess of Hastings preferred the latter mode; and Mr. Corrie and Mr. Parsons were directed to exercise the necessary jurisdiction, until the vacancy in the see should be supplied from England.

By this appointment, the manifold evils of a long vacancy in the episcopal office were most unhappily exemplified. The representatives appointed by the government on this occasion, discovered various objections to the manner in which the clergy had been licensed by Bishop Middleton; and choosing to proceed in conformity with their own views, rather than those of their deceased diocesan, they entirely abandoned that most important department of their duty. They, moreover, omitted to give any decision on a variety of points, which required immediate

attention; and the consequence was that the chief affairs of the diocese were nearly suspended. A multitude of references and papers were left to accumulate; and a formidable pressure of business was prepared for the succeeding prelate [1]. CHAP. XXX.

Bishop Middleton, it will be remembered, died in 1822; and it was not till October, 1823, that his successor, Dr. Reginald Heber, reached Calcutta. Previous to his departure from England, an Act of Parliament was passed, making several salutary provisions for the improvement of the bishop's public efficiency and personal comfort. The period of his service in India, as well as that of the archdeacons, was reduced from fifteen years to ten, and the bishop was permitted to enjoy a graduated portion of the pension, in case he should be compelled, by ill-health, to return to Europe at a prior period. It was further enjoined, that a suitable house should be provided, by the East India Company, for the bishop's residence in Calcutta; a fixed allowance was made for his ordinary visitations; and he was relieved from all difficulty in conferring holy orders upon natives of India [2]. No provision, however, was made for securing a similar portion of their allotted pensions to the archdea-

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 153.

[2] See ante, p. 277 of this Volume.

CHAP. XXX. cons, on their necessary retirement prior to the full period of service; neither was any allowance provided for archidiaconal houses or visitations.

The Court of Directors, before the intelligence of Bishop Middleton's death reached England, in consequence of his reiterated and urgent representations, agreed to increase the number of their chaplains, particularly in the archdeaconries of Calcutta and Bombay: but, notwithstanding these indispensable additions to the numerical strength of the clergy in India, since the establishment of episcopacy in 1814, the want of chaplains has still been most severely felt by every succeeding bishop; and no one can peruse the Journal of Bishop Heber, without lamenting the unavailing applications for resident chaplains from the inhabitants of many of the principal stations, and the frequent occasions on which he found himself called to perform clerical duties, where no clergyman had been ever placed.

It will be thought somewhat extraordinary that, among the references which awaited Bishop Heber's decision, was the question respecting the right of the archdeacons to occupy the pulpit in their respective presidency churches. It will be in the recollection of the reader, that this very question had been raised at Madras in the time of Bishop Middleton; and that,

after the fullest consideration, it was decided by him in favour of the archdeacon. Nevertheless, in spite of this determination, the exercise of that very right by archdeacon Barnes was resisted by the Rev. Henry Davies, one of the chaplains at Bombay. When the case was submitted to Bishop Heber, he confirmed, in the amplest manner, the regulations of his predecessor; and, in pronouncing his judgment, he adopted the same principles which Bishop Middleton himself had laid down, on the previous appeal from Madras, besides enjoining compliance, in the present instance, by various other forcible arguments and considerations [1].

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One of the first of Bishop Heber's episcopal acts, was the consecration of the churches at Dum-Dum, and of St. James, in Calcutta. With regard to the guarantee of the inviolability of the churches consecrated, on which subject Bishop Middleton had referred to England, Bishop Heber, by advice, adopted the following course of proceeding. He recited, in a letter to the government, the different churches which had been erected, offering to consecrate them, if government would undertake to maintain them "for the service of God, according to the forms and discipline of the Church of England;" and their assent to these terms was deemed suffi-

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 158.

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cient to warrant his proceeding to the act of consecration [1].

It has been stated above, that Bishop Middleton had licensed every chaplain to a particular station, in order to secure to that station all its ecclesiastical advantages, and to compel the permanent residence of the minister; and that, if the chaplain were afterwards removed, or succeeded to another station, the Bishop thus indorsed his license, "removed with our consent." It has, also, been noticed, that Bishop Heber, in some cases, added the term "district," to that of "station," as being of a less restricted nature; and that, in one or two instances, he also granted licenses to native missionaries, who had been ordained, to preach, and perform the office of minister, within a certain district, and in a particular language [2]. The indorsement, however, of the license, on the removal of a chaplain, was found to be frequently attended with considerable delay and inconvenience, from the vast extent of the diocese: and, accordingly, Bishop Heber, after some difficulty, was induced to abandon the practice of this indorsement, by the consideration, that every essential object might be attained by the notification of all appointments or changes to the bishop, or arch-

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 294.

[2] Abbott's Analysis of the Diocese of Calcutta, p. 60.

deacon, by the local governments. He also conceived that the bishop's license might, without much practical inconvenience, be general in its form; since, of course, it could not be held to justify a minister in encroaching on the station of another, or leaving his own district without the permission of his ordinary [1].

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With respect to the licensing of missionaries of the Church of England, bishop Heber himself writes to archdeacon Twisleton in Ceylon: —"I rejoice to say, that the difficulty felt by my great and good predecessor is now removed, by an opinion given by the King's advocate, that all clergymen of the Church of England, employed in any public ministry within the diocese of Calcutta, are, by the terms of the patent, subject to the bishop's authority. I will, therefore, thank you to take measures that I may forward the necessary licenses, as in the case of chaplains. You may, then, without scruple, admit them to assist the regular chaplains, whenever such assistance may appear to you necessary and expedient; of course, keeping in view the distinction which should, in ordinary cases, be observed between the duties of a chaplain, and of a missionary [2]."

In the year 1824, the Indian diocese was still

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 230.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 179.

CHAP. XXX. further extended by the erection of the colony of New South Wales into an archdeaconry, which, for ecclesiastical purposes, was placed by his Majesty's government under the bishop of Calcutta. It is remarkable, that, in many respects, the efficiency of the archdeacon of Australia seems to have been better consulted than in the Indian appointments; and, in order to avoid the difficulties and inconveniences which must necessarily arise from the submission of ecclesiastical matters to a superior at so great a distance, the archdeacon was invested with some new and extraordinary powers. He was directed to make an annual visitation of all the churches throughout the colony, including the settlement of Van Diemen's land, where he was to appoint a rural dean to officiate in his absence; the expenses of such visitations being paid by the Governor-in-council. He was to recommend to the government the several stations at which it might be desirable that chaplains should be placed; and all the inferior officers of the Church establishment, nominated by the officiating ministers, were subject to his approval. All schools, likewise, maintained by his Majesty's revenue, were placed under him as visitor. In point of rank he was placed next after the lieutenant-governor. In questions of a legal nature, arising in the execution of his office, the attorney and solicitor general of the colony were directed to afford

him advice, and, in cases of special importance, to act as his assessors. In the event of the archdeacon being of opinion that the interests of religion required the suspension of any clergyman, he was to signify the case in writing to the governor, who was to act on the responsibility of the archdeacon; but was to transmit a full statement of the case to the diocesan: and if the further suspension, or the permanent removal of any such clergyman should be ultimately directed by the bishop, the governor was, in that case, to act in conformity with such decision. The letter from Earl Bathurst, then colonial secretary, to Sir Thomas Brisbane, will be found in the Appendix. It forms a somewhat curious document in the history of the episcopal establishments of our colonies; since it invests the archdeacon of Australia with some powers, which exceed those conferred on the bishop of India. These powers, however, it must be perceived, were by no means greater than were required to give to the archdeacon becoming authority and weight, in a dependency so remote from the seat of episcopal jurisdiction: and, after all, the settlement must, practically, be left destitute of the rite of confirmation, the consecration of churches, and all the acts and offices peculiar to the episcopal function, so long as it remains under the jurisdiction of a bishop, whose distance renders a visitation of this part of his diocese next to impossible.

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On Bishop Heber's landing in Bengal, he, of course, assumed the office of president of the diocesan committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The native schools, and the various other branches of the Society's labours, engaged, in common with the other religious societies, much of his time and exertion; and the interests of their missions powerfully engrossed his attention during his last visitation of the southern provinces of the continent of India.

The concerns of Bishop's Mission College, which had lain so close to the heart of his predecessor, could not fail to attract the notice of Bishop Heber. Immediately after his arrival in India he undertook the management of the college, as visitor, and assumed the power of inspecting its internal arrangements. The first missionaries whom the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out, Messrs. Morton and Christian, arrived in Calcutta soon after the Bishop. It was not till January, 1824, that the complete state of the college apartments and offices enabled the Principal to take up his residence within its walls [1].

[1] It is stated in the Life of Bishop Heber, (vol. ii. p. 171), that "since the death of its founder, the college building had, from various causes, especially from the want of money, been much retarded; but under his (Bishop Heber's) inspection,

In the following month the Society's third missionary, Mr. Tweddle, arrived in Calcutta. Nothing now remained to prevent the admission of students; and on March 9, 1824, two were admitted by the bishop from the archdeaconry of Calcutta to the Incorporated Society's theological scholar- CHAP. XXX.

and with the assistance of the annual liberal grant from the Church Missionary Society, its progress was rapid." This statement must have originated in error. Bishop Heber himself writes thus to the Society, June 23, 1824: "To account for the slow progress which had been made, it would perhaps be sufficient to mention, that, since undertaking the college, Captain Hutchinson had been employed by government in several other public buildings, which inevitably prevented his giving to this establishment so much attention as had been expected from him. But, in truth, every work of the kind in India is, and must be, tedious, to a degree which, in Europe, may be hardly credible." As to the want of money, the greater part of the proceeds of the king's letter yet remained in the hands of the Incorporated Society; *and the bishop was invested, by them, with full authority to draw, at once, upon their treasurer for his necessary supplies.* It was not until he had left Calcutta for the upper provinces, that his first report, on the state of the college, was despatched to the Society in London; and as soon as they learned, which they did with some surprise, that it had been thought necessary to resort to *other funds* for the purposes of the building, directions were despatched by them for the immediate restoration of whatever had been thus diverted from those funds. The bishop's attention was, at the same time, recalled to his unrestricted *credit* with the Society, for the purposes of the college; and to that source of supply he was requested *directly* to resort in future.

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ships. In April, a third student, not on the foundation, was admitted, whose charges were defrayed by the Church Missionary Society; and in May, a fourth was nominated by the bishop from the archdeaconry of Madras, as one of Bishop Middleton's scholars, on the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. A few months after, the college printer arrived from London for the purpose of conducting that very important department of its labours. The same vessel brought the elegant present of communion plate from Mrs. Middleton for the chapel, and an excellent collection of books for the library, from the Incorporated Society, to the amount of about 1000*l.*

The second and third professors[1], Messrs. Holmes and Craven, accompanied by Mr. Demelho, another missionary, arrived at the latter end of 1825; and on the 1st January, 1827, the regular inmates of the college were,—the three professors, with their families, two of the missionaries, whom the statutes required to remain till sufficiently prepared by the knowledge of the languages, and eleven students; one of whom was the Armenian deacon, who had been left under the Bishop's charge by his uncle, the suffragan bishop of Jerusalem.

[1] Some domestic circumstances, of a distressing nature, had occasioned the return of Mr. Alt to England, in July, 1823.

The land originally granted by government for this institution, being found too small to admit of the necessary improvements, Bishop Heber, in 1825, obtained an additional grant of about sixty acres of waste ground, immediately adjoining its western extremity. And, at the present time, two additional ranges of buildings, in the same style of architecture with the original wings, are in progress, by the immediate direction of the Society, for the accommodation of an increased number of students, in furtherance of Bishop Heber's views.

On a full investigation of the necessities of the college, the Bishop resolved to adopt a plan for their relief, suggested by archdeacon Barnes: and, accordingly, soon after his arrival in Bombay, he preached in the presidency church on behalf of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and formed the first district committee of that Society in India. The meeting was attended by the governor, the judges, the members of council, and all the chief authorities in Bombay. The result of this measure afforded a most gratifying evidence of the extent to which the cause of Christianity had gained on the public feeling, and of the conviction generally entertained respecting the various and signal advantages promised by the foundation of Bishop's College. The subscriptions and donations at this meeting, to which were

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subsequently added considerable sums from the out-stations, amounted to nearly eighteen hundred pounds; the whole of which it was determined to remit to the college, in consideration of its unfinished state, and of the heavy expenses unavoidably incidental to a new establishment [1].

Similar committees were subsequently formed by the bishop at Ceylon and Calcutta, and letters were addressed by him to all persons of rank and influence, requesting their assistance in forwarding his views; and from almost every quarter he had the gratification of receiving liberal subscriptions, and promises of future aid and support. Among the subscribers, appeared the name of Baboo Muthoonaath Mullich, a Hindoo gentleman of great respectability, who, after visiting the college, begged to give 400 Sicca rupees (50*l.*) annually to its support [2].

The management of the native schools in Calcutta, under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, were placed in close connection with the missionary institution of the Incorporated Society; and as soon as the district committee was formed at Madras, in 1826, the whole of the former Society's missions in the south of India were tranferred to the latter Society, that they might be more fully in union with the

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 312.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 343.

Mission College, and thus confirm the hope, with which its projector delighted to contemplate it, of "combining and consolidating, so far as may be, into one system, and directing into the same course of sentiment and action, the endeavours which are made to advance the Christian cause in India [1]."

The peculiar difficulties incident to the exercise of official examination into the conduct of the clergy in India, which had been so strongly felt by his predecessor, were experienced, in their full weight and measure, by Bishop Heber. On one occasion, more especially, his want of legal assistance and advice almost compelled him to a more lenient course of proceeding than he would otherwise have adopted, and one which he, doubtless, must have felt to be very inadequate to the grave nature of the case. We have already seen the embarrassment and opposition which Bishop Middleton had to encounter in the establishment of his consistorial court; and the forms and details of that tribunal were far too imperfectly understood to make it an effective instrument of ecclesiastical discipline in the hands of his successor [2].

[1] Bishop Middleton's Advent Sermon.

[2] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 335.

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It would be quite superfluous to dwell at length on the transactions of Bishop Heber's episcopate, and on the various interesting details of his visitation journeys; all of which are now fully and distinctly before the public. It may not, however, be improper to introduce here the following important notices from his correspondence. From the provinces of Bengal he writes, that, "there are, on the whole, more native Christians than he calculated on finding;—but," he adds, "if the number of native Christians is not great, that of European Christians, even independent of the army, is far greater than he expected; that the anxiety for more chaplains is exceedingly painful to witness: their paucity is really most grievous; many very important stations are at this moment as effectually cut off from preaching and the sacraments, as if they were in the centre of China[1]." In addition to these expressions, we may appeal to the language of his charge to the clergy, in which he adverts to the same painful subject, and which is too remarkable to be altogether omitted here. After expressing his gratitude for some measures calculated to give increased effect to their ministerial labours, he is induced to mention the very great deficiency, in numerical strength, of the

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 255, and 193.

clergy on the Indian establishment. "Of twenty-eight chaplains assigned by the Honourable Company to the presidency of Fort William, fifteen only are now on their posts and effective. Five are, from ill health and other unavoidable causes, at present absent on furlough; while, of the remaining eight appointments, no fewer than seven are represented as vacant, the clergyman who fills the eighth only being reported on his voyage from England. CHAP. XXX

"The consequence has been, that even in Calcutta and its vicinity, some churches must have been shut up, but for the occasional help of clergymen and missionaries, not in the Company's service; that at Cawnpoor a single labourer is sinking under the duty of a military cantonment, about five miles in length, containing two places of worship, two burial-grounds, two distinct establishments of barracks, schools, and hospitals, and for which the wisdom of government had designated two resident ministers; while in the other Mofussil provinces, some of the most important stations are addressing to me, almost daily, their earnest, and, unhappily, their unavailing applications, for that comfort and instruction, which, in our own country, is accessible to all.

"This is a state of things, beyond a doubt, sufficiently lamentable. It presents the revolting

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spectacle of a nation almost without a priesthood to the Romanists who dwell among us, and to the surrounding heathen. It has a tendency to increase itself and its own evils, by oppressing and overpowering the strength of those labourers who still continue in the vineyard. And it excludes, in the worst and most effectual manner, from the teaching and ordinances of our religion, the daily increasing multitude of our countrymen and their descendants, of whom by far the greater part are still ardently attached to the faith and worship of their fathers[1]."

It is but just to notice in this place, that the Court of Directors have so far attended to these appeals, as to make a further addition to the number of their chaplains in India; but, unhappily, the frequent and necessary absences of the clergy do not permit above three-fourths of their nominal list to be effective and resident in the country. The following is a tabular view of the number of chaplains, at the present time, 1830, together with the number of churches in use and in the course of building, as they occur under each archdeaconry, which is co-extensive with each presidency:—

[1] Bishop Heber's Charge, p. 4.

	Chaplains.	Churches in use.	Churches building.
Calcutta	38	12[1]	4
Madras	23	10	1
Bombay	15	8	1
	[2]76	30	6

In the beginning of 1826, Bishop Heber visited Madras, and from thence proceeded to inspect the missions of the Christian Knowledge Society, which, as we have seen, had engaged so much of the anxious attention of Bishop Middleton. How deeply and powerfully his Christian sympathies, and pastoral feelings, were excited by all which he there witnessed, is now, happily, well known, and indelibly recorded. He more than once observed, that these scenes afforded no ground for the imputation of exaggerated statements, and hopes extravagantly sanguine; that, on the contrary, the fault, if any thing, was that public report had done but scanty justice to these blessed labours of benevolence and piety; and the contemplation of the result drew from him the memorable exclamation that, "*there* lay the strength of the Christian cause in India; and that, grievous and heavy would

[1] In 1814, it is believed, the number of chaplains were about 40, and the churches did not exceed 10.

[2] Including the cathedral, and the chapel at Bishop's College, and the church at Penang.

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be the sin, if England, and the agents of her bounty, should fail to nourish and protect the churches which had thus been founded" in the midst of a moral wilderness [1].

It need not here be told, that, from these truly Christian and paternal labours, the second Indian bishop was suddenly removed to his rest and his reward; and that, thus, the see of Calcutta was again, most calamitously, deprived of the effective superintendence of its head. How just and honourable an estimate was then formed by the Indian public of the advantages and blessings of such superintendence, the resolutions passed, on the death of Bishop Heber, at the several presidencies, most amply testify. Scarcely a dozen years before, the attempt to elevate and enlighten our Christian fellow-subjects was deprecated, by fear and prejudice, as an enterprise pregnant with all the evils of a frightful revolution. These apprehensions had now passed away; and men of all classes, while honouring by their tribute of affectionate regard the memory of the departed bishop, evinced, by their munificent support of the "Mission College," their love of the English Church, and their anxiety to make it, by God's blessing, an instrument for enlarging the general Church of Christ, among the inhabitants of our vast possessions in the East.

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 431.

Dr. John Thomas James, who was nominated the third bishop of Calcutta, left England in July, 1827, and landed in Bengal in January, 1828; the see having been thus unavoidably exposed to the absence of episcopal control and influence *for no less a period than twenty-one months*. The colony of the Cape of Good Hope never having hitherto enjoyed the benefit of any episcopal visitation, which was felt to be much wanted, Lord Viscount Goderich, the secretary for the colonies, thought it advisable that Bishop James should be charged with a special commission from the crown to commence his episcopal functions at that place. From the time that this colony was taken from the Dutch, the English residents, though yearly increasing, were accustomed to solicit the use of the Dutch reformed church for Divine service, having no building of their own. One principal object of Bishop James's visit was to make known a grant from the crown of a piece of land, together with half the sum necessary for building the church, provided the inhabitants would furnish the other half. The subscriptions were very liberal both in money and in kind; and the bishop consecrated the land, as also a burying-ground [1]. Having arranged some other matters committed to his charge, he proceeded to his ultimate destination.

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[1] Memoir of Bishop James, p. 27.

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Unhappily the climate of India took a fatal hold on the Bishop's constitution almost immediately after his landing in Bengal. He, nevertheless, grappled zealously and vigorously, with the accumulation of business which awaited him, and soon made arrangements for effecting some measures which had been recommended to him previously to his departure from England. He assigned parochial districts, and a definite sphere of duty, to the several clergy in Calcutta, and made enquiries for the purpose of effecting the same division at Madras and Bombay. He gave special commissions to the archdeacons of Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon, respectively authorising them to make, in his absence, the necessary endorsement on the licenses of the chaplains. He obtained the sanction of government for granting marriage-licenses as in England, and appointed surrogates in certain districts; and, with the approbation of archbishop Sutton, he empowered the chaplains, in certain cases, and in the hot season only, to shorten the morning service of the liturgy; no unauthorised curtailment, such as had been not unusual before, being in future permitted [1].

In a letter addressed by Bishop James [2] to the archbishop of Canterbury, he states that he had ordered "quarterly returns of all marriages, bap-

[1] Memoir of Bishop James, p. 125. [2] Ibid. p. 126.

tisms, and burials, whether by clerical administration or otherwise, to be received at the registrar's office of the archdeaconry of Calcutta." The circumstances are these: Bishop Middleton, as soon as he had fixed registrars, with a salary from government, at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, directed his clergy, as noticed in his second charge, to make "punctual half-yearly returns of marriages, baptisms, and burials, to the registrar of the archdeaconry;" and these returns, after being copied and certified, were regularly transmitted by the archdeacon, through the government, to the India House in London. But besides the ministrations of the chaplains, burials, marriages, and even baptisms, were continually performed both by civil and military persons in the absence of the clergy. For these irregularities the bishop, of course, could not hold himself responsible; neither did he feel it right to give them his official sanction, although they might be dictated by an undeniable necessity. The returns of such irregular ministrations were accordingly transmitted as before, to the secretary of government. By the continuance of this arrangement, some inconvenience was, undoubtedly, occasioned; to obviate which, Bishop James, in compliance with the wishes of the Governor-general in council, consented to issue the order adverted to in his communication to the archbishop.

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On Ascension Day, May 15, Bishop James consecrated the chapel and burial-ground of Bishop's College; a ceremony which had been expected with much interest by the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta. The sermon was preached by Principal Mill, on whom the archbishop had conferred the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Immediately after, a meeting was held of the College Council, and the plans finally arranged for erecting two buildings on the southern side, similar to the present wings, and so placed as to form a second court, fronting the river, like the present one. These buildings are calculated to afford accommodation for forty additional students. The expense of erecting them, it was expected, would be nearly met by the votes of credit which the bishop had at his disposal for this purpose; one of 5,000*l.* from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and one of 3,000*l.* from the Church Missionary Society, a certain number of whose students were, in consequence, to become admissible at the college [1].

In the course of the month of June, Bishop James held in Calcutta an ordination, a confirmation, and the visitation of the clergy. He then proceeded with his family up the river, on a tour to the northward; but the rapid progress of disease speedily arrested him; he was compelled

[1] Memoir of Bishop James, p. 101.

to return, and to embark hastily on board a vessel proceeding immediately to sea. Here he determined to tender the resignation of his bishopric, after a certain date [1], and to return to England. But within ten days from his leaving the Ganges, he sunk under his disorder, and again rendered the see of India vacant by the death of its bishop, for the third time within fourteen years. A fourth prelate, Dr. J. M. Turner, has now gone forth, again to undertake, single-handed, this most arduous of episcopal dignities. But surely the time is come, when the voice of humanity, as well as of duty, shall be heard; and the overburthening toil and responsibility of this immense diocese be apportioned conformably to its separate political divisions.

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[1] Memoir of Bishop James, p. 169.

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No. I.

THE following is the inscription on the monument, erected to the memory of Swartz, by the Rajah of Tanjore :—

To the Memory of the
REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ,
Born at Sonnenburg of Neumark in the kingdom of Prussia,
the 26th of October, 1726,
and died at Tanjore, the 13th of February, 1798,
in the 72d year of his age.
Devoted from his early manhood to the office of
Missionary in the East,
the similarity of his situation to that of
the first Preachers of the Gospel,
produced in him a peculiar resemblance to
the simple sanctity of the
Apostolic Character.
His natural vivacity won the affection,
as his unspotted probity and purity of life
alike commanded the

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reverence of the
Christian, Mahomedan, and Hindu;
for Sovereign Princes, Hindu and Mahomedan,
selected this humble Pastor
as the medium of political negociation with
The British Government;
and the very MARBLE that here records his virtues
was raised by
the liberal affection and esteem of the
Raja of Tanjore,
Maha Raja Serfojee.

No. II.

No. II. ON Friday, December 15th, 1820, the foundation-stone of Bishop's College was laid by Bishop Middleton, amidst a great concourse of persons, including many of the first distinction, who were invited to witness this interesting solemnity. The following were the prayers used, and the proceedings which took place on the occasion:—

"Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants, before we enter upon the work, which we are now assembled to take in hand, implore thy grace and blessing. We know that the designs of man avail not to thy glory, unless they are accepted for the sake of thy Son, and are aided by thy Holy Spirit. The offerings of the rich and the counsels of the prudent are alike unprofitable, if Thou, in whose hands are the

issues of all things, withholdest the brightness of thy presence. Vouchsafe then, O Lord, to look down from heaven, in the abundance of thy mercy, on our hearty desires to advance the kingdom of thy Son. Behold us here surrounded by millions of our fellow men, who know not the name of Him, by whom alone they can be saved, having their understandings darkened, and being sunk into sin and sensuality. Moved with compassion at this their state, and desiring to impart to them the blessed knowledge and saving faith, which Thou hast mercifully revealed to ourselves, we ask thy favour to an institution, adapted, as we believe, under thy gracious Providence, to the diffusion of truth and of consolation in a Saviour. In thy goodness, then, prosper this our undertaking, that so it may redound to thy glory and to the salvation of souls. Vouchsafe to all, who shall belong to this seminary, thy especial guidance and blessing. Let those who shall govern it be ever mindful of the solemn trust committed to them, and labour to maintain within its walls sound discipline and Christian holiness. Let those, who shall be instructors, especially direct the minds of youth to the objects of their sacred calling. Let the students grow up in grace, and become daily more and more disposed to renounce all secular allurements in the hope of being accepted instruments in advancing the kingdom of thy Son. Let its learned men be mighty in the Scriptures, and so skilled in languages, that they may faithfully and intelligibly propound thy Holy Word. Let its missionaries go forth in meekness, in patience, and in love unfeigned, as faithful apostles of Jesus Christ: and may all, who shall in any way be admitted to its benefits, be actuated by unity of spirit, and speak the same thing: let no schisms, or heresies, or divisions, defeat

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the end of their calling, or give occasion to the enemies of Christ to blaspheme: but let primitive truth and apostolical order and unwearied labours of love, be evidences that Thou art with them, and that thy Spirit has deigned to rest upon the spot from which they were sent. O Lord, we pray thee, accept this place unto thyself: let it be a school of pastors and teachers, for the work of the ministry and the edifying of the body of Christ; increasing more and more, until this land of darkness be illumined in all its recesses with the light of the everlasting Gospel, and the Gentiles, sitting down together in the kingdom of their common Redeemer, shall glorify God for his mercy. Hear us, we beseech Thee, for the sake of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ." *Amen.*

"O Lord, who alone puttest it into the hearts of sinful men to seek thy glory, we thank Thee that Thou hast been pleased to stir up in our Church and nation that zeal for the honour of thy name, of which this institution will be, as we trust, among the blessed fruits. Our fathers saw not in *their* day these manifestations of thy kingdom. More especially we bless Thee for all the labours of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and particularly for the extension of their charitable designs to this quarter of the globe. We thank thee that it hath pleased our most gracious sovereign to authorise the collection of the alms of the pious throughout our native country, in aid of a desire to diffuse the light of the Gospel through those parts of the continent and islands of Asia, which are subject to British authority. We acknowledge it to have been of thy goodness, that other religious societies and public bodies have munificently contributed

to the furtherance of this Christian enterprise. We recount with gratitude, that the supreme government of British India has, on behalf of the Honourable East India Company, and for the purposes of this institution, granted and assigned this spot, well adapted to the cultivation of sacred studies, and to holy retirement. And we forget not to praise Thee for every manifestation of good will to this design, whether it be from the rich and powerful, or from those who can only pray for its prosperity. Suffer not, O Lord, this zeal to abate, if, as we trust, it be of Thee, and has been kindled by thy Holy Spirit: that when we, who behold the beginning of this work, shall be gathered to our fathers, they, who shall come after us, may gladly support and extend it. Raise up to this house, we humbly beseech Thee, a never-failing succession of benefactors, who shall be animated with the spirit and views of its founders; and whose names may be perpetuated through all generations as of blessed memory, and their good deeds be accepted at the throne of grace through the sole merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*"

"O Lord Almighty, who has promised to be evermore with thy Church, militant here on earth, we commend to thy especial guidance and protection that apostolical branch of it of which we are members, and which is now established in this country. And herein we pray for our most gracious sovereign Lord King George, and the whole of the royal family; for the ministers and dispensers of thy word and sacraments, wherever dispersed, and for all congregations committed to their charge. More particularly, as we are in duty bound, we ask thy blessing on the Honourable the East India

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Company, and on the government of this great empire; on the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, the members of the Supreme Council, and on all who act in authority under them; on the judges of the Supreme Court; on the magistracy, and on all ranks and orders of the people; grant that in their respective stations they may be influenced by an unceasing regard for the improvement and happiness of the less favoured children of the same Creator; and so dispose their hearts, that the renown and dominion in these eastern regions, to which thou hast wonderfully exalted our nation, may be found to have been among the counsels of thy providence for the diffusion of thy saving and eternal truth. And suffer not, O Lord, this end to be retarded by any habitual violations of thy Gospel, among those who profess and call themselves Christians; but teach us all to feel, that we are required to be examples to the unbelievers in purity, in piety, and in charity. Furthermore, we ask, that thy choicest graces may be vouchsafed to those who are called and sent to bear the tidings of salvation to the Gentiles. Endue them, O Lord, with that power of thy word, with that holiness of life, and singleness of heart, and freedom from the distraction of secular and party views, which are the endowments of the true missionary, and which alone can call down thy blessing on his endeavours. Increase the number of those, who in this spirit are ready to devote themselves as apostles of thy blessed Son; and may the house which we now build, be the fruitful parent of those, who having converted many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever. Lastly, we commend to thy Holy Spirit ourselves, who are here assembled: in this, and in every work of charity, may we find our hearts more deeply and surely engaged in thy service, and more

indifferent to the perishable concerns of the world. Let every day bring us nearer unto Thee: let a more fervent love of Thee, a more profound adoration of thy greatness, and a warmer zeal for thy glory be the encouragement and reward of our imperfect endeavours to exalt thy name: nor let us forget that, a little while, and all which shall remain of our earthly career, shall be the fruits of our faith in Christ, and those works which follow us. These prayers we offer unto thee through the sole mediation and merits of Jesus Christ, in whose blessed name and words we sum up our petitions:—

Our Father, &c.

Then the following inscription was read from a brass plate:—

Individuæ. Et. Benedictæ. Trinitati. Gloria.
Collegii. Missionarii.
Societatis. De. Propagando. Apud. Exteros.
Evangelio.
Episcopalis. Autem. Nuncupandi.
Primum. Lapidem. Posuit.
THOMAS. FANSHAW. EPISCOPUS. CALCUTTENSIS.
Precibus. Adjuvante. Archidiacono. Cæteroque. Clero.
Respondente. Et. Favente. Corona.
Die. XV. Decembris.
Anno. Salutis. MDCCCXX.
Britanniarum. Regis. Georgii. IV. Primo.
Princeps. Ille. Augustissimus.
Quum. Regentis. Munere. Fungeretur.
Literas. Societati. Benigne. Concessit.
Quibus. Piorum. Eleemosynas.
Per. Angliam. Universam. Petere. Liceret.
Hos. in. Usus. Erogandas.
In. Eosdem. Vir. Nobilissimus.

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Franciscus. Marchio. De. Hastings.
Rebus. Indicis. Feliciter. Præpositus.
Agri. Sexaginta. Bigas. Bengalenses.
Ad. Ripam. Gangetis. Prope. Calcuttam.
Nomine. Cœtus. Honorabilis. Mercatorum.
Anglicorum.
Chartulis. Assignavit.
Societas. Vero. De. Promovenda. Doctrina.
Christiana.
Particeps. Consilii. Facta.
Grandem. Est. Largita. Pecuniam.
Illa. Itidem. Missionaria.
Cui. Nomen. Ab. Ecclesia. Ductum.
Ne. Tali. Tantoque. Deesset. Incepto.
Par. Munus. Ultro. Detulit.
Christi. Non. Sine. Numine.
Læta. Hæc. Fuisse. Primordia.
Credant. Agnoscant. Posteri.
Amen.

Then the plate was deposited, and the stone was laid, the Bishop pronouncing:—

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God blessed for ever, I lay this, the foundation stone of the Episcopal Mission College of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to be commonly called and known as "Bishop's College, near Calcutta."

O Father Almighty, through whose aid we have now commenced this work of charity, we bless Thee that we have lived to this day; O prosper the work to its conclusion; and grant that so many of us as thy providence shall preserve to witness its solemn dedication, may join together in heart and in spirit in praising thy

name, and in adoring thy mercy, and in supplicating thy favour to this house evermore; through Jesus Christ our Lord. APPENDIX. No. II.

The peace of God, &c. &c.

No. III.

Portion of a Letter, forming part of a volume intended for publication, and addressed to Rammohun Roy, by T. F. Middleton, Lord Bishop of Calcutta. No. III.

SIR,

THE point suggested by the perusal of your tracts to my earliest consideration is, what is the authority of the whole volume, which Christians receive as the word of God, or as Divine revelation; but this is connected with the previous question, whether any revelation was to be expected. The latter point, supposing it to be matter of doubt, should, of course, be first attended to; for if revelation be really impossible, it were useless to examine the character and pretensions of that which we profess to have received; and even a high degree of improbability would impose the necessity of the strongest proof, that such alleged revelation came from God. Notwithstanding this arrangement, it may be convenient to state in what way the main enquiry arises out of your avowed opinions.

With respect, then, to the extent, in which you receive the Christian Scriptures, it is possible, that since the publication of your first tract you may have seen cause to go further than you ventured to do at

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the outset; though of this I find not any unequivocal declaration. In the introduction of that tract, in a passage already cited, you speak of some, who require from persons claiming to be Christians "only an adherence to the doctrines of Christ as taught by himself, without insisting on an implicit confidence in those of the apostles;" and you make this distinction your own, by adopting the opinion of the "liability of the apostles to mistake and error, like other men, except when speaking from inspiration," and subjoin what you consider as instances in a note. It is obvious, that such an exception, so undefined, would make the whole volume of the New Testament, except when Christ is represented as the speaker, wholly useless for the proof of either precepts or doctrines. The "Precepts of Jesus," indeed, understood as sayings actually delivered by Christ, could be drawn only from the four Evangelists; but in the discussions into which that publication has led you, and which are so multifarious as to involve almost every part of Scripture, I observe, that though you somewhat relax in your mistrust of the Acts and the Epistles, they make no considerable figure: you cite them in a very few instances to show that your opinions have even their countenance, and in one place you observe[1], that the authority of the apostles having been brought against you, you think yourself justified in citing two texts from the Epistles, (1 Cor. xv. 24—28, and Col. i. 15), although you "should be contented to deduce your arguments from the direct authority of Jesus himself."

It is true, that in your appendix to your Second Appeal, No. 2, "On the references made to the Old

[1] Second Appeal, p. 16.

Testament in support of the Deity of Jesus," you examine such citations as you find them compared with passages, not only of the Gospels, but of the Epistles: still, the general impression will be, especially when your notion of the fallibility of the apostles is recollected, that you do not even yet receive with equal confidence all the books of Scripture; and your native readers may be led to conclude, that the Acts and the Epistles, though holy books, are rather to be considered in the light of those Poorans and Tuntras, which unfortunately have not had any respectable commentator, and are, therefore, not admissible in evidence of the genuine Brahminical doctrines [1]. In fact, I do not discover in your tracts any thing like a reason for your receiving any part of the Christian Scriptures, unless it be your high and just admiration of the precepts of Christ; and even in this you seem not to consider, that the sayings of Christ rest upon the authority of the reporters; and the authority of St. Luke, from whose Gospel three-eighths of the precepts are taken, must be as good for the Acts of the Apostles as it is for the Gospel called by his name; for of both he was the author, with this difference, that what he relates of our Saviour he could know only from others; while of much which he tells of the apostles he was an eye-witness. I was, indeed, surprised to observe, that in addressing your countrymen, (your avowed object in your first tract) you did not state the grounds on which you offered them religious instruction drawn from such a source, and called upon them to receive what must be revolting to their prejudices. It seems as if you had trusted to their intuitive

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[1] Brahminical Magazine, No. II. p. 5.

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perception of truth, or, in default of that, to their habit of dispensing with inquiry; or it may be, that you yourself have no distinct conception, why we receive the Christian Scriptures, otherwise than as ancient books, which have come down to us by tradition. I conceive it, therefore, to be proper, that I should lay before you something of the genuineness and authenticity of our sacred writings; indeed, this will be indispensable, as I mean to quote them indiscriminately in the course of the following discussions; and to this subject I purpose to devote the whole of my next letter.

The subject of my present address will be the possibility and antecedent probability of revelation; you do not, indeed, call either of these into question: what I have already adduced in this letter exonerates you from all such suspicion. Notwithstanding this avowal, the consideration of this subject will be seen to fall within the plan of my present undertaking. At the same time, I should observe, that though you speak of a Divine revelation as something which really exists, you frequently drop expressions, which indicate, that you should distrust an alleged revelation, which could not be made to quadrate with your preconceived opinions. You have a very remarkable passage to this effect in the introduction already quoted; "to those, who are not biassed by prejudice, and who are *by the grace of God* open to conviction, a simple enumeration and statement of the respective tenets of different sects may be a sufficient guide to direct their inquiries, in ascertaining which of them is the most consistent with the *sacred traditions*, and most *acceptable* to *common sense*." By the "sacred traditions" you probably mean the Christian revelation, though as used by an advocate of the Vedant, the term is somewhat equivocal;

but I am surprised at one of the effects, which you ascribe to Divine grace; that a mind enlightened by it, and thus "open to conviction," will be enabled to ascertain, what is "most acceptable to common sense." Surely, Sir, this would be strange theology in any school; common sense, it seems, is so impotent and capricious and miserable a thing, that without Divine grace, it knows not even what it will accept; and yet its acceptance of the tenets proposed to it is indispensable to give them the validity of truth; that they are "inconsistent with the sacred traditions" is not in itself enough. This is not to deny the possibility of revelation: but I much fear, that with your preconceived opinions of what nature a revelation should be, and to what object it should be directed, it might as well have been impossible, and common sense left to itself. There are many hints interspersed through your tracts which are of a similar tendency.

It is not, however, in reference to such passages that I proceed to the subject of this letter. You inform the public, and I hear it with concern, that you are acquainted "with several *Europeans* and Asiatics, who doubt the possibility of revelation[1]." With respect to the former I had no knowledge or suspicion of the fact; but knowing it, as I now do, on your authority, I conceive, that I ought not, in a work directed to a review of your writings, to pass over it in silence; it deeply affects the well-being of some, who are called by the Christian name; and the notion may gain strength by notoriety, even though it has not your sanction, if it pass unquestioned.

Your "European and Asiatic" friends seem to have

[1] First Appeal, p. 29.

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carried their Deism, or whatever it may be called, even further than the enemies of revelation have usually done in England; of whom few, I believe, have pretended to doubt the *possibility* of revelation, whatever pains they may have taken to throw discredit on the Christian Scriptures. Morgan, a writer of that school, and of considerable celebrity, when it was in its highest vogue, admits, "that God may, if he think fit, communicate his will by immediate inspiration, or supernatural illumination; yea, and that, which he thus communicates, may come with evidence equal to a mathematical demonstration[1]." At the same time, he intimates his belief, that no such revelation can be proved to have been given. Chubb, another of the same fraternity, says, "When men are sunk into gross ignorance and error, and are greatly vitiated in their affections and actions, God may, for any reason I can see to the contrary, kindly interfere by a special application of his power and providence, and reveal to man such useful truths, as otherwise they might be ignorant of, or might not attend to; and also lay before them such rules of life, as they ought to walk by, and likewise press their obedience with proper motives, and thereby lead them to repentance and reformation[2]." And Lord Bolingbroke observes, that "an extraordinary action of God on the human mind, which the word inspiration is used to denote, is not more inconceivable than the ordinary action of mind on body, or of body on mind; and that it is impertinent to deny the existence of any phenomenon, merely because we cannot account for it; though, as he adds with equal propriety,

[1] Leland's View of Deistical Writers, I. p. 147.

[2] Ibid. I. p. 22.

"it would be silly to assume inspiration to be true, because God can act mysteriously, that is, in a way unknown to us, on his creature man[1]." He even acknowledges, that "when a revelation hath all the authenticity of human testimony, when it appears consistent it all its parts, and when it contains nothing inconsistent with any real knowledge we have of the Supreme all-perfect Being and of natural religion, such a revelation is to be received with the most profound reverence, with the most entire submission, and with the most unfeigned thanksgiving[2]." This last concession amounts to every thing which the Christian desires; but no where in these passages is there any pretence of the *impossibility* of revelation, whatever doubts may be cast upon the reality of that which we receive. And wherefore should the possibility be called in question? If God cannot reveal his will to man, he has not the power even of man his creature, who unfolds his purposes and desires at any moment with the utmost facility. If God cannot reveal himself, it will imply, that we clearly apprehend all the ways in which ideas are communicable to the human mind, and that no one of those can be conceived to exist in the case supposed. If the infinite mind cannot act on finite mind, it is, at least, contrary to the analogy, which obtains in the material world, and which, perhaps, is of the two the less conceivable. If God cannot communicate his will to the sentient and rational beings of his creation, they are altogether independent of him. In a word, if revelation be impossible, it will follow, either that the power of God has a limit fixed to it, not by any contradiction in the nature of

[1] Leland, II. p. 47. [2] Ibid. II. p. 48.

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things, (such as that a thing should be and not be at the same time) and therefore, that he is not omnipotent; or else, that the course of nature framed by himself is inconsistent with the free exercise of his own attributes; which is absurd: or else, lastly, that there is an eternal fitness of things absolutely independent of God, who, therefore, is not supreme.

If, however, there be few, who doubt the possibility of Revelation, there are many who do not distinctly see that the condition of man requires it: they hold that reason is sufficient to direct him in his duties, and to make known to him all which really concerns him; they have convinced themselves, and would fain persuade others, that man naturally perceives the difference between right and wrong, and that in the natural exercise of this discrimination he will always be able to satisfy the condition of his being, and the relation in which he stands towards God. In this case, the doctrines of religion will be regarded as impositions on human liberty, and Revelation itself be questioned, as not being actually required. It may be proper, then, in a very few words, to discuss this question of the sufficiency of reason to the moral and spiritual wants of man.

It may be observed of those who hold such opinions, that while they exalt the human faculties, they equally depress the Being who gave them, and lower the standard of human responsibility. They argue, that the relation which is said by the advocates of religion to subsist between God and man, cannot have been truly represented; that the Almighty will not rigidly exact all that divines and moralists pronounce to be according to his law; that human nature is what he himself has made it; that the passions and evil propensities of man, if

they must so be called, are a part of his constitution; and that with all the blindness and ignorance of our nature, he, who uses such faculties as God has given him, and especially he, who abstains from doing injury to others, has nothing to apprehend; that acts of great generosity and kindness are done by men, who think little about religion; and that the world, so far as appears, would be better without it, especially as the conflicting tenets of philosophers do not lead to any breaches of charity; in truth, their schemes of Deism and your theory of Christianity are directed to pretty much the same conclusions: "peace and happiness" is the motto of both; and neither looks beyond the present world.

Upon the actual state of the relation between God and man I may take opportunity to speak hereafter; in the mean time let us examine the powers of reason as displayed independently of the influence of religion. I cannot, however, consent to admit any inferences from the writings or the lives of modern Deists; not that I think them in general such as to afford any support to the notion of the sufficiency of reason. Such instances are not fairly adduced. Men may now write well and justly upon moral subjects, without faith in religion, provided they are content to dispense with motives, and humanly to tell what is right, precisely as persons who are unable, or too idle, to follow the demonstrations of theorems in the Newtonian philosophy, may safely adopt the result, and affect to despise the process, by which alone it could have been deduced. The sciolist in philosophy owes nothing to mathematics; precisely as the moralist, who lives in the meridian light of Christianity, owes nothing to the Gospel; that is to say, that both would have been ignorant of their re-

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spective subjects, if they had been left wholly to themselves; nor can either of them stand his ground, if he meet with opposition; the one cannot utter a syllable in defence of his philosophical positions, if they be denied; and the other has nothing to say for his moral doctrines, if he meet with a person, who on the whole prefers to live according to nature. It is not, however, my meaning, that infidel moralists do always avail themselves even of the *conclusions* established by Revelation so far as they might; but only that it is difficult in such a case to keep the independent deductions of reason distinct from knowledge already familiar to us, and derived from a different source. Christianity has shed its light upon human life, upon the opinions, the habits, the views, and the judgments of men, and is blended with them, whether they cordially receive it or not; and no other solution can be given of the fact, that the relations of life, its duties and its charities, hold a degree of importance even among our unbelievers, which was utterly unknown among the wisest and best men, who lived before the era of the Gospel. Still there is a proud disdain of being thought to be under any obligation to it; it is much the same kind of perverseness, as that which should induce a man to pass all the days of his life in a dark chamber, and to pursue his occupation by moonlight, for the satisfaction of saying that he owed nothing to the sun; and this, after all, would not be true.

The question, therefore, is more properly limited to the case of those, who have not, or even cannot have, enjoyed even the reflected light of Christianity. The former of these classes will hardly embrace the followers of Mohammed; the Koran contains sentiments, floating indeed only here and there over a wide expanse, which

assuredly would not have been found in it, if the Arabian chieftain had lived before the appearance of Christ; but the Hindoos, the Chinese, and many other nations may be fairly . . . . .

No. IV.

THE following letter was written by Mr. Mill, the principal of the college, shortly after the death of Bishop Middleton. It is inserted here, as containing a variety of interesting and important details on subjects nearly connected with the designs of the Society for Propagating the Gospel; and, among them, a valuable notice respecting the Syro-Malabaric Church.

No. IV.

Ajmeer, July 29, 1822.

REVEREND SIR,

The long interval that has elapsed between my last letter, announcing our arrival in India, and the present, has not, I trust, been understood by the Society, as proceeding from any want of respect to them, or of regard to their objects and interests in this country. Every thing regarding the college having been hitherto transacted between the Bishop of Calcutta and the Society, and the concern of the principal and professors in its administration having been, by the nature of this arrangement, suspended till the return of the approved statutes from England; it is obvious that we had little or nothing to report, beside the continuance of

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what we had announced before—the necessary study of languages, and other important and preliminary duties of our station. The few articles of intelligence that went beyond this, we thought we might safely leave to the bishop's correspondence—embracing doubtless every thing in which the infant interests of our establishment were even remotely concerned.

But, sir, the severe and unexpected loss we have just sustained, makes a total change in our condition in this respect. It would be useless and irrelevant in me to attempt to commemorate to the Society, a character whose splendid talents and virtues they have so long and so worthily appreciated. But the loss of him to us at this critical time, when the institution, which his enlightened zeal had projected, and watched over hitherto, was on the point of commencing its regular labours—is one which, while we acknowledge the secret wisdom of the Divine dispensation here, and endeavour to rise to the necessity it imposes, we feel that we can scarcely too much deplore. Under these circumstances, it becomes our duty to make a more particular return of our past and present proceedings: and even those points of local and minute information, which at a less extraordinary season might be addressed to the bishop only (or in his absence to the archdeacon), are now, on our founder's decease, proper to be submitted to the immediate consideration of the Society.

The attention of my colleague and myself was necessarily drawn at first to the study of the *Hindostanee* —a language, the Hindoo basis of which, diversified in dialect, is the vernacular tongue of that extensive central district of North India from which I am now writing, and which in its mixed state with Persian and Arabic, has been, ever since the Mogul conquests, the

general medium of communication in every other part of the country, in nearly the same manner, and with the same varieties, as the French in the several parts of the European continent. In addition to this, Mr. Alt had lately, at the suggestion of our lamented bishop, undertaken the study of the *Bengálee*, the vernacular language of the Hindoo population in the eastern province of Bengal Proper, totally distinct in construction and idiom from the Hindoo before mentioned. My own attention had been from the beginning chiefly devoted to the *Sanscrit*, the ancient Brahminical language, in which all the terms of Hindoo religion and philosophy are contained, and by which alone we can hope to understand that singular system of opinions, to which the whole of this vast population is enslaved. This, together with maintaining and improving my previous acquaintance with *Arabic* and *Persian*, the languages of theology and literature to all the better part of the Mahometan inhabitants, made up with more ordinary pursuits and studies, my principal occupation in the country.

It will be evident to the Society that of these five necessary languages, there is none, with the exception of the second, which is learnt with greater advantage at Calcutta than at any other place: the first and two last are better acquired in the regions adjoining Delhi and Agra; the third in every place (as Benares, Oujein, Poona, &c.) where the Brahmins have the ascendancy. Hearing therefore distinctly, that my official duties would not commence till after a year, and knowing that from that time they would detain me necessarily within the immediate neighbourhood of the presidency, I obtained (after eight months' residence in Bengal) our late bishop's approbation for visiting a friend at Poona,

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whom the event has connected more intimately with the concerns of our establishment than I then expected, and for taking in my way several parts (interesting in another view) of the coast of Malabar. Being, therefore, supplied with letters from his lordship to Cochin, and to archdeacon Barnes at Bombay, I embarked at the end of October last year, and arrived at the former port in November, with the intention of visiting the Christians of St. Thomas, as they have been very generally called, in the interior.

I trust I shall not barely be excused, but considered as performing a duty to the Society, in enlarging a little on the subject of that singular communion. For a Church, subsisting like theirs, if not from the apostolical age (a tradition justly suspected), at least from the ages immediately succeeding, whose members have been recognised as a distinct and respected class of the community, in the very heart of Hindooism, for more than fifteen centuries, is a phenomenon which cannot but claim the attention of every one engaged in the propagation of the Gospel in this country, and is itself a most satisfactory answer to the many who contend, that its permanent reception by any class of respectable natives, is an impossibility.

The Christians of St. Thomas, though evidently Indian themselves in origin, as in complexion and language, (which is the Malayalim,) have received their orders, with their liturgies and ecclesiastical traditions, from the more ancient parent church in Syria. Accordingly (notwithstanding the inaccurate later rumours concerning them, which seem with many to have superseded the excellent and laborious accounts of their former history, given by Dr. Michael Geddes, and by La Croze,) they resemble, in their form of government,

every other ancient church of which we have any knowledge, by which Christianity has been planted in the midst of idolaters: neither in the *three* orders (to which they have superadded many of confessedly inferior authority) do they differ from the Western Church, except that the deacons exercise fewer of the proper functions of the catanars or presbyters, than custom has allowed them among us. It were happy if, with this apostolical regimen, of which they are most carefully tenacious, they had preserved uniformly unimpaired the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; but the unhappy disputes respecting the person and natures of our Lord, which, beginning with verbal questions, ended with dividing the Oriental Churches into two opposite erroneous confessions, have extended their evil influence to the Church in Malabar. It is evident from the accounts that La Croze has detailed with his usual candour and sagacity, that at the time when the Portuguese were forcing the Romish usurpation, with all its novelties, upon them; they were, like the see of Babylon to which they adhered, Nestorian. And it is evident also, that those bishops and priests from Syria, by whose assistance, half a century after, they were enabled, for the greater part, to throw off that usurpation, and recover their ancient ecclesiastical independence, were from the see of Antioch, the most opposed to that heresy being Jacobites. And this is accordingly the creed of all the independent part of the Syro-Malabaric Church at this day, who are under a metropolitan bishop of their own nation. These correspond with the Church in Antioch: like them have the anti-catholic *expression* (to say the least) in use, of the two natures forming *one nature*; and unanimously hold the Nestorian duality of persons in the utmost detestation. The other great division of this

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Church, who remain under that forced subjection to the see of Rome, though they have still priests of their own nation, and their liturgy in Syriac, printed at Rome for their use, have all their superior governors sent to them from Europe, and are in a singular state of schism: the Portuguese archbishop of Cranganore, a suffragan of Goa, still claiming them as his charge, while this right is denied by the Propaganda Society at Rome, who have constantly sent out Italian vicars apostolic, and now latterly an Irish bishop, residing at Verapoli, to rule them. These unfortunate Churches, still sufficiently proud of their ancient character to feel for their present degradation, yet under the terror of the exclusive pretensions to catholicism and infallibility, submit partly to the one, partly to the other, of these opposite claimants.

It is the former and happier division of this singular people, to whom we look with the greatest interest and hope, as those whose recovery and rise to their early primitive character will, as we may confidently expect, bring with it the emancipation of the rest. From their venerable metropolitan, Mar Dionysius, who is exerting himself in various ways for the improvement of his clergy and people, I had the happiness of hearing very warm expressions of respect and attachment to the Church of England, and our late regretted bishop, whose interviews with himself, and mutual presents, he evidently remembered with great satisfaction. I received both from him, and several of his clergy, copies of the New Testament, and other works in Syriac, which I hope, at no distant time, to deposit in our college library. The readings of these copies (of which I collated many more at different Churches for seven of the more remarkable passages) add but little to the information

published by Professor Adler on this subject; they are chiefly remarkable for a gross interpolation in some Nestorian copies, in Heb. ii. 9. and a careful expunction of this, with an omission equally unauthorised, though not so impious in meaning, by the opposite party: and they curiously exemplify the effect of contrary heresies in preserving, as well as indirectly confirming, the general integrity of the sacred text. The want of 1 John v. 9. (except in one copy interpolated by the Romanists), and of the history at the beginning of John viii. is common to all.

The persons to whom I was chiefly indebted for my intercourse both with the priests and laity of this extraordinary people (of whose Indian language I was wholly ignorant,) were three clergymen of the Church of England resident at Cottyam in Travancore, and actively employed in superintending the college and the parochial schools: the former of which, by the grant of the Heathen government of that country, the latter, by the desire and contribution of these Christians themselves, have been recently established in their community. Singular as such a superintendence may appear, and almost unprecedented, there is nothing in it, as exercised by these clergymen, which opposes the order, either of that Episcopal Church they visit, or, as far as I am capable of judging, of that to which they themselves belong. For the *former*, they certainly do nothing but by the express sanction of the metropolitan consulting and employing them: their use of the Anglican service for themselves and families at one of his chapels, is agreeable to the Catholic practice of these Christians (who allowed the same 250 years ago to the Portuguese priests, as to persons rightly and canonically ordained, even while they were resisting their usurpations), and is

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totally unconnected with any purpose of obtruding even that liturgy upon the Syrian Church; while their conduct with respect to those parts of the Syrian ritual and practice, which all Protestants must condemn, is that of silence, which, without the appearance of approval, leaves it to the gradual influence of the knowledge now disseminating itself to undermine, and at length, by regular authority, to remove them. For the *latter*, which involves the more immediate and far more sacred duty of the two, though no opportunity for the display of this has yet existed in this native government, without the Company's territory, and the limits of the operation of our Indian Church establishment hitherto, yet I believe they fully acknowledge that episcopal relation and jurisdiction, to which they, equally with myself, or with any chaplain of the Company, are spiritually subject. Whatever suspicion may arise on this head from the avowed ecclesiastical principles of too many who support their respected Society (the Church Missionary Society) in England, I cannot, if I may be allowed the expression of my own judgment in this way, extend the same suspicion to them. For it appears plainly impossible that men of piety and integrity (such as I am persuaded these are) should thus support and act upon the ancient principles of unity and order in another Church, without at least equally regarding them in their own.

In stating these points respecting the Syro-Indian Church to the Society, I do little more than repeat what I had before stated at greater length to Bishop Middleton: and it is not among the least of the losses that I have sustained from his lamented and unforeseen departure, that I have been deprived of hearing from himself an opinion on these subjects; on some of which he alone was competent to decide, and on all of which

his interest in this people, and extensive acquaintance with their concerns, ancient and modern, enabled him to decide so well. I had the satisfaction, however, of receiving from him, in reply, a full approbation of my enquiries, with remarks of his own: as, indeed, before my departure from Calcutta, I had heard him express a wish, that the large collections of MSS. he had himself made in Malabar, might at some future time proceed from our college press; and speak of sending for Syriac types (together with the Arabic, Nagree, and other Eastern types wanted by the establishment) for that purpose. I am not at this moment acquainted with the distinction of those MSS., which, together with those deposited by the late Dr. C. Buchanan in the library of Cambridge, and a few within our possession in India, compose, I believe, nearly all the monuments which Europeans have ever obtained of this singular society.

Along the whole of this coast, from Cape Comorin to Calicut, there exists another class of Christians, totally distinct from either of the two divisions of the former Church (though Europeans who do not visit the interior too frequently confound them, to the great injury of the Syrians). These are all persons of the fishermen's caste, which further north is Pagan, whom the Portuguese, on their first landing, found little difficulty in persuading to submit to be baptized, and embrace their modes of worship. These poor people live in great ignorance, repeating the Latin ritual like others of the same class in the south of Europe, and are subject to the Portuguese bishop of Cochin. Far beyond the regions which contain these, from Mangalore northward to the Goa country, lie the most numerous remains of the converts made by Francis Xavier, and other Portu-

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guese missionaries of the sixteenth century. The character of these is generally respectable as compared with their Heathen and Mahometan neighbours: though in all their ideas, and their mode of considering even the sacred mysteries of Christianity, they rather resemble Hindoos than Christians; in the paganism of their rites, exceeding greatly the Romanists of the western world, and even retaining the distinction of *castes* among themselves. Their pastors, who are all of the half Portuguese half Indian race, sent to them from Goa, are little disposed or qualified to remove these evils, and appear to hold their people in the utmost contempt. A few Italian Carmelite missionaries stationed in the Canarese country, far surpassing these country pastors in intelligence and general character, only serve to shew more strongly the inefficacy of that corrupt form of religion, when exhibited in the most favourable shape, to produce any good effect in this country. The city of Goa now presents a most remarkable spectacle. Its splendid cathedral, churches, convents, &c. now stand insulated as in the country, no remnant existing of that populous city with which they were once surrounded. The new city, Panjam, is a comparatively mean place: the inquisition, too well known for its atrocities in the cases of F. Ephraim Neves, M. Dellon, &c. is now mouldering to ruins, without the least prospect of recovery. It is said that all the European Portuguese, who refuse to take the oaths to the new government, which is a government of half-castes, will be banished the country; and in this number the archbishop primate is included. To this prelate, the kindness of the commander at Cananore had given me letters; and I received considerable attentions from him during my stay. I have had the satisfaction

of sending him since a copy of the bishop's sermon, on laying the foundation of the college at Calcutta.

From Goa I proceeded by sea to Bombay, and thence to Poona. At this latter place, which was the principal object of my journey, I had the happiness of assisting at the commencement of a work, which forms the principal official intelligence I have now to communicate to the Society, I mean the Persian version of the Old Testament, undertaken under their auspices by my friend, the chaplain of that station. Mr. Robinson is, I believe, already favourably known to the Society, from his Bombay Visitation Sermon lately published, on the difficulties and the prospects of the clergy in India, and his qualifications as a Persian scholar are generally acknowledged in this country. He engaged in this undertaking with the approbation and encouragement of archdeacon Barnes; and one of the last acts of our late excellent diocesan's life was the formal acceptance of his labours, subject to all the statutes of the college respecting translations, its committees of revision, &c. This work, in conjunction with the New Testament of the late excellent Mr. Martyn (which may also be properly made a subject for the revision of the college), will, it is hoped, be the means of supplying the Mahometan natives of India, as of other parts, with a classical faithful version of the Scriptures in their favourite language, and forms in every view a most desirable opening of the labours of our college in this department. For what concerns the translation of Indian *tracts*, that work is already begun: Mr. Alt having already completed the Hindostanee Lord Bacon's Confession of Faith and other useful treatises, of which, I believe, accounts have been already transmitted to the Society.

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From Surat, the last place in the western coast which I visited, my intention had been to return to Bengal by sea; but the accounts I received of the uncertain length of a passage at this season, together with an invitation from the Resident at Pertabgurh, to accompany him to his station in Central India, determined me to prefer returning overland. Before leaving this interesting coast, I trust I shall be excused in remarking to the Society, on the peculiar want of Protestant missionaries here, compared with the opposite side of the peninsula, and the peculiar necessity here, considering the persons with whom they would have to do,—that these should be of the United Church of England and Ireland, or else of one of her sister Episcopal communions in America or Scotland. A remark of a different nature, but curious as relating to the history of religion in this country, should not be omitted. I allude to the existence of *Black Jews* in the Concana, or low tract of country between Bombay and Malwan on this coast, in equal or even superior numbers to those in the far southern neighbourhood of Cochin, who have for more than a century engaged the attention of the Christian public in Europe. They have, like the others, rabbies from that division of Jews in Europe, called Saphardim, or Spaniards. They have printed service-books also from them; circumstances which, with their possession of *all* the Old Testament, are sufficiently destructive of the imagination hastily entertained by some, that they are of the ten tribes. Many of the sepoys in the service of the Company at Bombay, are of this singularly interesting nation. They are called by themselves and their fellow-soldiers, Israeli; and all these men, however ignorant in other respects, can read the Hebrew letters.

When I had already proceeded as far in my return as Nusseerabad, in the territory of Ajmeer, and had received letters from the bishop in the course of my march, intimating that I should be in Calcutta before the end of October, the journals announced to me the melancholy event, which seems to have changed the face of all our proceedings in India. My return can be effected with ease within the limits assigned to it; but I lost no time in writing to archdeacon Loring, that he may require my presence earlier, should this in the present crisis be thought necessary. In the mean while, I hope that the time consumed in this tour, protracted as it has been beyond my calculation, will not be deemed lost, even to the purposes of study. The marches in India, with the retinue and conveniences they require, are far from being unfavourable for this; and the slight deficiencies as to reading, are more than compensated by the opportunities afforded for observation and intercourse with different classes of natives. I have been enabled, by this means only, to collect documents respecting the Parsees (or remnants of the ancient Persians, fire-worshippers, at Guzzera), the Jains, and other singular tribes or sects in the peninsula, which, with other books obtained during the same journey, from the Brahmins and regular Hindoos, may not be unfit for the library of an institution destined, as we hope, to embrace the whole of this country. Another reason, though not strictly belonging to the purpose for which I am sent hither, nor contemplated by myself beforehand, will not be heard with indifference by that Society which I have the honour of addressing,—it is, the miserable defect of ecclesiastical institutions of every kind in this central region, rendering even the casual hasty passage of an unknown clergyman of more im-

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portance than can readily be conceived in Europe. The multitudes who, within a few hours, applied to me for baptism, &c. in the cantonments of Nusseerabad and Nemuch, were enough to mark what must be the want in the other stations (equally abounding in European troops) of Mhow, Asseirgurh, Saujor, Husseinabad, Nagpore, &c. &c., all 500 miles or more distant from the nearest place where there is a chaplain, in either of the three surrounding presidencies. The commander at the first mentioned military station, who had applied twice in vain for a remedy of this evil, had passed, as he told me, sixteen years of his life without seeing a clergyman,—was *obliged* to perform several properly clerical offices himself, and this in some of the most populous of our stations in India. All the officers to whom I have spoken upon this subject, have appeared even astonished at a neglect from which the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French, and Danes in India, are so markedly free, and which I believe to be without parallel in the colonial history of any Christian nation. The prejudices of the natives have been strangely alleged at home in excuse for this; when it is known to all who have most conversed with them (as may be said without fear of contradiction), that in proportion to their fear of interference with their own modes of religion, is their disposition to condemn and even despise those who have no religious institutions themselves. Their esteem for the British nation seems to have increased from the happy and decided, but yet very partial, approaches to a better state that have taken place already: from the public opinion, which is now even loud upon the subject, we should be happy to augur more.

It was my wish to add here something respecting

the many encouraging appearances, now first presented, of the opening of the native mind in India; such as are the introduction of native newspapers in their own language, their curiosity respecting other manners and histories than their own, their desire to learn English, and (notwithstanding that suspicion on the article of religion, which makes every caution, short of dissimulation or compromise, necessary and proper towards them) to read in that view every *Shastra* of ours, when considered as a part of English education. This is a large subject of itself, upon which I hope hereafter more fully to address the Society. But there is one appearance of this kind, which, as it bears more immediately upon the great object always before us, I cannot omit; —I mean the rise, in different parts of India, of persons who, on the principles of natural religion only, oppose in speech and writing the reigning superstitions of their countrymen, as impious and abominable. These men, who are mostly of high caste as Hindoos, and retain fully their place in society, are not indeed enlightened as to the remedy wanted for the evils they discern: they mingle often with their opposition, views respecting satisfaction and atonement, more remote from the truth than the traditions (however distorted and corrupt) of the people they oppose; and they all want that disposition to undergo sacrifices in the cause of truth, which it seems that nothing but a better hope than theirs is able to inspire. Yet their party is extending itself; and while the leaders, content with the sort of admiration they excite, comply outwardly with the corruptions and superstitions they are undermining, the effect on the community at large, of this discussion, seems to be paving the way for their final destruction. The unfortunate course which the most celebrated of these

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leaders, Rammohun Roy of Calcutta, has taken, is perhaps not unknown to the Society. From being an adversary of the Brahmins, his brethren, on their own ancient principles, endeavouring to restore, on the authority of *some part* of the Vedas and their commentators, the primeval tradition of the Divine unity, the evil of idolatry, of bloody and obscene rites, &c., he has latterly turned to profess himself a Christian; but it is such a Christianity, as being unaccompanied with any submission of mind to its authority as a supernatural revelation, leaves us no reason to applaud the change. A work published by him some time since, under the very welcome and just title, "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Happiness and Peace," was an artful attempt, —in exhibiting all the discourses of Christ which represented practice as the sum and substance of his religion,—to set the *morality* of the Gospel against its *mysteries;* studiously omitting all those discourses which joined the two inseparably together. The work, if divested of its insidious short preface, was perhaps calculated to do good, being composed of passages from the Gospels only; but when the Baptists of Serampore directly attacked the publication, he issued forth what he termed "A Defence of the Precepts of Jesus," being an elaborate tract against the doctrine of the Trinity, with that of the incarnation and sacrifice of our Saviour. This treatise, certainly not entirely his own—and, if report speaks truly, dictated by one who had separated from the Baptists, and has since opened an Unitarian meeting-house at Calcutta—is conspicuous for nothing so much as the presumptuous vanity of its nominal author: its affectation of western learning, and attempts at Greek and Hebrew criticisms, are to the last degree con-

temptible; and what there is in it to deserve notice, is borrowed from the long confuted supporters of the same impiety in England. Whatever mischief may be apprehended from this publication (which, like his other publications, is not deficient either in style or plausibility of manner) amongst the malignantly disposed, who will not inquire further, or amongst those of the Mahometan superstition, who, with their strong prejudices against the characteristic mystery of Christianity, are yet half convinced by its evidences, there are yet satisfactory appearances that the antichristian apostacy it supports will not gain ground among the Christians of this place; and the rock upon which the Church is built will remain here, as in the whole world, unshaken.

With repeated assurances to the Society, of my devotion to their cause and objects in this country,

I am, reverend sir, yours very faithfully,

W. H. MILL.

No. V.

Letter from Earl Bathurst to Sir Thomas Brisbane, respecting the archdeaconry of New South Wales. No. V.

London, January 1, 1825.

SIR,

1. HIS Majesty having been pleased to erect an archdeaconry in the colony of New South Wales, by letters-patent, bearing date the second day of October last, has been pleased to nominate the Reverend Tho-

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mas Hobbes Scott, to be the first archdeacon. Mr. Scott will proceed by my direction, in the present conveyance to take upon himself the duties of his office.

2. The duties of the archdeacon are, in a great measure, defined by the letters-patent under which he has been appointed, and where they are silent, the canons and ecclesiastical law of the Church of England will furnish the rules by which his conduct will be guided. But in order to promote, as far as possible, the effectual accomplishment of those important purposes with a view to which this appointment has been made, I take this opportunity of communicating to you his Majesty's pleasure upon some of the more material questions which may be expected to arise respecting the duties of the archdeacon.

3. Mr. Scott will report his arrival to you as soon as possible after he has reached the colony, and you will cause a proclamation to be issued in his Majesty's name for making known to all his Majesty's subjects in the colony, the erection of the new archdeaconry, and the appointment of the Rererend Mr. Scott as the first archdeacon, and requiring all the clergy of the established Church, and other his Majesty's subjects, to yield all due canonical obedience to the archdeacon.

4. It will be one of the earliest duties of the archdeacon to exercise, on his Majesty's behalf, the power of visitor of all schools maintained throughout the colony by his Majesty's revenue; and he will transmit to you his report of such circumstances connected with those establishments as he may think necessary to bring under your consideration, or to transmit through you to this department.

5. The archdeacon will also enter, with all convenient dispatch, upon the performance of the important office of

making a public visitation of all the churches throughout the colony, including the settlement of Van Dieman's Land. The various chaplains in the colony, and all churchwardens, officiating clerks, and other persons connected with the celebration of Divine worship, or with the service and care of ecclesiastical edifices, will understand that they are bound to attend the archdeacon's visitation, and to render to him such information as he may require from them, connected with the spiritual or secular concerns of the Church. This visitation will be annually repeated. The periods for making it will be fixed by the archdeacon, who will, however, communicate with you, before he notifies to the clergy, his intention of holding any such visitations; you will, of course, afford him every degree of assistance and co-operation which it may be in your power to render.

6. The distance of Van Dieman's Land from Sydney, rendering it impossible that the archdeacon should, in his own person, maintain an habitual inspection of the concerns of the Church throughout the whole of his archdeaconry, he will appoint a proper person to officiate as rural dean in Van Dieman's Land during his absence from that settlement, and you will make that appointment known to the lieutenant-governor of the island.

7. In the execution of his office, and especially of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction vested in him by his patent, questions of a legal nature may arise, upon which it may be desirable that the archdeacon should receive the opinion and advice of one or both of his Majesty's law officers in the colony. You will, therefore, transmit officially to the attorney-general, or, in cases of special importance, both to the attorney and solicitor-general, for their opinion and advice, any

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questions, of a legal nature, which the archdeacon may desire you to propose to him in reference to his official duties.

8. In the event of its becoming necessary that the archdeacon should exercise the ecclesiastical jurisdiction with which he is invested, you will signify to the attorney-general of the colony, or if for any reason he should be unable to act, then to the solicitor-general, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that he should act as assessor of the archdeacon's court, for the purpose of assisting the archdeacon's judgment upon any questions of law which may arise in the course of any judicial process depending before him.

9. Upon the arrival of any chaplain in the colony by virtue of any appointment made subsequently to the date of the archdeacon's patent, such chaplain will, in the first instance, report his arrival to you. It will then become your duty to refer him to the archdeacon, who, with all convenient expedition, will signify to you in writing his opinion, in what particular station such chaplain may be most advantageously placed, and you will accordingly, in deference to the judgment of the archdeacon, appoint each chaplain to officiate in the place so recommended to you.

10. It will further be the duty of the archdeacon to regulate, in reference to the canons of the Church of England, the times at which Divine service shall be performed in each of the churches, chapels, and public establishments of the colony, and he will be authorised to admonish the clergy respecting the particular seasons at which they are to celebrate and perform the various ordinances contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

11. All the inferior officers connected with the eccle-

siastical establishment throughout the colony, such as vergers, clerks, sextons, and bell-ringers, will be nominated by the officiating minister of the church or chapel to which they may be attached. Every such nomination will be reported by such minister to the archdeacon for his approbation; and unless the archdeacon should see good cause to disallow any such appointment, he will approve and confirm it, and, therefore, the person so appointed will be considered as invested with his office, though subject to be removed by the archdeacon for any reasonable and sufficient cause to be judged of by the archdeacon.

12. In the event of any clergyman conducting himself in such a manner as to create a public and notorious scandal, or being guilty of any gross neglect or abuse of his clerical duties, if the archdeacon should be of opinion that the case is such as that the interests of religion require the suspension of any such person from his clerical functions, and should certify that opinion to you in writing under his hand, you will be authorised to act upon the archdeacon's recommendation and responsibility, and to suspend any such clergyman accordingly. And it will be the duty of the archdeacon immediately to transmit, through you to his diocesan, a full statement of the case. If the restitution, or the further suspension, or the permanent removal of any such clergyman should be ultimately directed by the bishop of the diocese, you will act in that case in conformity with such decision as you may receive from him. It is, however, to be distinctly borne in mind, that the archdeacon will not interfere in recommending the suspension of any clergyman, except only on the ground of offences committed against the order and discipline of the Church of England, or of im-

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moral and licentious conduct. You will exclusively retain in your own hands the power of animadverting upon the conduct of any clergyman whose offences or misconduct may be merely of a political nature.

13. If any special occasion should arise (such, for example, as the celebration of a public fast or thanksgiving), in which it may be necessary to observe special and peculiar ecclesiastical ceremonies, you will, in his Majesty's name, issue such a proclamation for that purpose as may be prepared and recommended by the archdeacon under your immediate sanction and direction. All questions which may arise for your decision relative to the stipends and allowances of the inferior clergy, will be submitted by you to the archdeacon for his opinion and advice, before you finally adopt any measures respecting them.

14. I have to communicate to you his Majesty's pleasure, that the archdeacon is to take rank and precedency in the colony, next after the lieutenant-governor, and you will on all public occasions be careful to confer on him such marks of attention as may most effectually recommend his person and his sacred office to the respect of the lower and less educated classes of society.

15. In the event of any difference of opinion arising between the archdeacon and yourself, respecting your relative duties and authority, you will transmit to me such explanations as the case may require, in order that I may be enabled to furnish you with instructions for your guidance.

16. His Majesty having been pleased to grant a salary of two thousand pounds sterling English money for the support of the archdeacon, you will observe, that this salary commenced from the 5th of April, 1824, the

date of Mr. Scott's appointment; and that it will be payable by half-yearly instalments on the usual days, and that each payment is to be effected in the same manner, in the same currency, and at the same rate of exchange, in which the corresponding instalment of your own official income may have been paid. You will further defray out of that part of the public revenues, which is subject to your appropriation, such moderate expenses as the archdeacon may unavoidably incur in making his visitations, the charge for such expenses being previously laid by you before your council and allowed by them.

I have the honour to remain,

&c. &c. &c.

BATHURST.

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